
# Bonding with the Land:

## Outdoor environmental education programmes and their cultural contexts

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# Abstract

The issue of sustainable living has become an increasingly important theme in public discourse. Particularly in the last decade educators and researchers have paid much attention to people's relationships with the environment under the theme. 'Western' advocates of education for sustainability generally present as models the traditional approaches of indigenous peoples. However, contemporary attempts by indigenous peoples to 'bond' young people with the land have not been extensively investigated.

Following a careful selection process a total of seven educational programmes in the UK and North America were chosen to explore participants' core values and concerns regarding the environment. The research design was 'mixed' and based primarily on participant observation, supported by interviews and written surveys.

For the indigenous groups in North America, being 'on the land' was 'life' itself, and was tied strongly to their identity and well-being. Aspects of their culture and history were inseparable from the programmes, whereas for the groups in the UK, people visited 'wild places' primarily for personal enjoyment. The UK programmes studied aimed to cultivate a caring attitude towards the environment chiefly through conservation work. However, in contrast to the North American cases the experience was largely divorced from daily life and paid little attention to cultural and historical heritage.

The present study has made three significant contributions to the education literature concerning people's relationships with the environment. First, the nature of these relationships varies depending on cultural and social setting and the local context plays a vital role in developing the relationships. Second, a fundamental change in people's relationships with nature requires ontological transformation. Third, while it may be beneficial to adopt certain elements from North American programmes in the UK or vice versa, educators cannot simply duplicate cultural models as education needs to be culturally and locally appropriate.

These programmes were experimental and evolving. Further research is required to investigate models of education for sustainability that are culturally and locally appropriate to each place.

# Declaration

This thesis has been composed by the author and is solely my own work. This work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualitfication.

# Contents

# Illustrations, Tables and Diagrams

# Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AALA | Adventure Activities Licensing Authority |
| AKRSI | Alaska Rural Systemic Initiative |
| ANCSA | Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act |
| BIA | Bureau of Indian Affairs |
| CHEI | Cultural Heritage and Education Institute |
| EE | Environmental Education |
| EFS | Education for Sustainability |
| EGBT | Edinburgh Green Belt Trust |
| GPS | Global Positioning System |
| GT | Green Team |
| HTA | Hunters and Trappers Association |
| IBC | Inuit Broadcasting Corporation |
| IS | Inullariit Society |
| IUCN | International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources |
| IWGIA | International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs |
| JMA | John Muir Award |
| KIBSD | Kodiak Island Borough School District |
| NPO | Non-Profit Organisation |
| NTS | National Trust for Scotland |
| NVA | Native Village of Afognak |
| PSD | Personal and Social Development |
| RCMP | Royal Canadian Mounted Police |
| RSPB | Royal Society for the Protection of Birds |
| SD | Sustainable Development |
| SNH | Scottish Natural Heritage |
| SY | School Year |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNCED | United Nations Conference on Environment and Development |
| VPSO | Village Public Safety Officer |

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# Chapter 1: Introduction

## Where 'West' and 'Non-West' Meet

"Takako, carry this bag for me as I am going to *Oinarisama*'s[1]".

As a young girl, I accompanied my grandmother in *kimono*[2] (a Japanese traditional costume), walking on a hardened snow path in winter taking small offerings to pray at a tiny stone shrine on a rock plinth. Passing under a faded red wooden *torii* (a gateway to a shrine), I remember the slanting eyes of a white small porcelain fox inside the shrine, watching us.

I grew up in a small agricultural town at the foot of a mountain range, in a community that was full of deities and spirits. I believed that if I harmed trees unnecessarily, I would be punished sometime in my life, and if I saw children misbehaving with nature, I would tell them that they too would be punished. Yet I have never worn *kimono* myself in daily life and for as long as I can remember, I was encouraged to admire 'advanced societies', such as the USA and Europe. Everything Western was a symbol of progress, and economic growth was regarded as the utmost priority. At school, I learned little about local history, and the music lessons were all about European classical music. My parents paid for me to learn the piano, for example, rather than the Japanese wooden flute or drum.

When I came from Japan to study in the UK in 1999, therefore, I was taken aback to hear a geography lecturer at University of Cambridge say that "we have regarded humans as separate from nature". I had never doubted that we are part of nature. To think otherwise was, for me, unimaginable. Perhaps what struck me was the way the statement was presented, as commonplace rather than something exceptional. It was also a surprise to me to realise that my worldview was ontologically different from that of Western society, despite the fact that I had grown up with strong Western influences on Japanese traditional values and lifestyle. I started to become more interested in cultural influences on people's attitudes to their environments.

## Education Questioned

I never questioned the values of the education I received until I began travelling to non-industrial places such as the Amazon, the small islands of the western Pacific, the Caucasus, Madagascar, South-East Asia, Siberia and Greenland. These journeys often involved physically demanding travel in the wild. The range of temperatures I experienced while journeying with (or sometimes without) a tent was from -55 to +60℃, and the terrains included frozen ocean, desert, tundra, tropical forests, coral islands, under water, rivers, rock walls, and mountains up to 4,500 meters in height. On most occasions I had opportunities to live with locals, often called indigenous peoples, at some point in the journey, and I took some trips with them.

On occasions while travelling I discovered that 'modern' Western education was not necessarily appropriate to a world of traditional knowledge in non-Western societies. This also made me think of the relevancy of the education I had received. For example, a channel on the island of Yap in the western Pacific, which was formerly built with traditional methods, became unusable in low tide after a person with a civil engineering degree from the USA rebuilt it. Having watched many young men in colourful loincloths loitering, an older man in another island of the Western Pacific, where people live on subsistence activities, said "They all have college degrees, but there are no jobs for them here and they don't have sufficient knowledge and skills for subsistence".

Through my experiences of living on the land, I came to know what sustains people's lives there. It was not money but local knowledge and a healthy environment. Having lived with local peoples, I often witnessed how their life support systems were ruined in the name of 'progress', and how 'development' changed societies. The same process began in Japan shortly before I was born. There are benefits from the process, but many things are lost. What is wealth, what does happiness mean, what sort of world do we want for ourselves and our children? These questions never left my mind as I encountered life in other parts of the world.

Gradually I came to the view that non-Western peoples, including the Japanese, have been trying to fit themselves into the Euro-American framework of education and

values, and in doing so, social, cultural and personal conflict have occurred. When I was in my late 20s, I showed my father rope-making skills that some indigenous people had taught me. He laughed and said he could do the same with different materials that were locally available in the place where I grew up. I realised that my father had an intimate knowledge of the area and of the practices that had supported people when their lives were much closer to the land. Am I any more advanced than my father because I went to a college in Tokyo, yet know nothing of the history of where I was raised, or how to identify edible wild plants, or how to grow rice, the most important food source for the Japanese? Does making straw ropes by hand, or getting to know the landscape, have no significance today, simply because it may not be of much practical value in daily life?

## Ontological Differences

I first became involved in environmental and outdoor education in 1986. What drew me into the field as a volunteer were my experiences with a UK-based organisation that provided opportunities for young people from all over the world to work together in wild areas with few modern amenities such as electricity, gas, and running water. I became interested in the UK as a society which made it possible for young people to take part in such unique educational experiences. Thus I chose to come to the country in 1999 to study more about the issues around the environment and education. My intention was to improve my understanding to benefit the Japan-based non-profit voluntary organisation for whom I worked.

It was then that I encountered the geography lecturer's phrase I mentioned earlier. As I learnt more of how the UK viewed the world and how educators discussed attitudinal change towards the environment, I started to consider that not only the UK but also other cultures can contribute to education for sustainability. In particular, I was concerned by some environmentalists' claims, for example with regard to wildlife hunting, which sometimes seemed to take no notice of other cultures' relationships with the environment that were significantly different from their own. Before my arrival in the UK, I could not imagine the scale of ontological differences between Japanese and British culture, and similarly these environmentalists may not fully appreciate the implications of such differences between their worldviews and those of other cultures. Environmental issues often go beyond political borders, thus understanding these differences will assist in achieving meaningful dialogue.

## Research Purposes, Stance and Chosen Programmes

The seriousness of the environmental problems we face has been widely discussed, as has the role of education for sustainable living in addressing these issues (Palmer, 1998; Quarrie, 1992). A body of literature exists mostly from Western perspectives on people's historical attitudinal change towards the natural environment and animals. In the UK and USA, much of environmental education theory and practice rests on the assumption that human disconnection from nature is a fundamental problem (Abbey, 1984; Lindholdt, 1999; Orr, 1994; Russell, 1999; Thomashow,

1995). The root of the problem is attributed to a combination of Judaeo-Christian influences, the mechanistic views of the world and the development of the market economy. Many environmentalists and educators suggest that indigenous peoples' traditional beliefs and the way they relate to the natural environment have significant implications for sustainable living (Beinart & Coates, 1995; Lee & DeVore, 1968; Pálsson, 1999; Sessions, 1995; Simmons, 1993). There seems to be a growing trend among indigenous peoples to restore the connection with the land by establishing the outdoors as a learning environment (Kushman & Barnhardt, 1999; Rediscovery International Foundation, n.d.). However few empirical studies have been undertaken to investigate what these endeavours actually are and why these people, who are perceived to have this deep connection already, feel the need to restore it.

The present study explores the background and purposes of such educational projects, and examines the ways in which outdoor experiences are organised among different cultural settings. Its focus is on people's relationships with their environment and how attempts are made to address these through education. In other words, this thesis explores the nature and significance of educational programmes in various cultural settings that aim to connect participants with the environment. Moreover, I am interested in investigating these attempts in the context of education for sustainability.

In literature documented by Western researchers, non-Western societies have been underrepresented in the discussion of education for sustainability, while paradoxically many commentators praise 'traditional societies'[3] as a model. In this context there is value in conducting more studies of educational outdoor programmes among indigenous peoples. In light of the Western interest in and assumptions about 'traditional societies', and the extensive efforts made in the West to educate for sustainability, there seems merit in a study contrasting these approaches. Researchers view other cultures from within their own cultural frameworks (Ascher, 1991); in this case predominantly Japanese, thus highlighting both the Western and the non-Western is particularly fruitful. Furthermore, in terms of programme design, there may be potential for each approach to gain from the other. This point is elaborated in Chapter 3. The term 'West' is problematic as it suggests over-generalisation. The UK does not represent the entire 'West' and some British programmes do not represent the whole attempts in the UK. However, the UK programmes provide examples of attempts in the West, and they have intrinsic values which can be investigated. Moreover, I came to the UK inspired by the British educational youth project I mentioned earlier and therefore I chose to seek programmes both in the UK and among indigenous peoples. The cases dealt with in this thesis should be considered as complementary rather than, in a strict sense, comparisons.

In light of the interest in human relationships with the environment, case studies were selected on the basis that they met the primary criterion, which was that the organisers held the view that bonding people with the environment was fundamental to their educational programmes. They were located in Scotland, Alaska and Nunavut (Canada), and the selection procedures are described in Chapter 4. In the Alaskan and Nunavut cases, the main actors are ethnic minorities in their own countries. Coming from a Japanese background, I seemed to stand outside the historical context of each case study. For example, I was not associated with historical 'oppressors'; I was not 'English' for the Scots, 'Russian or European American' for the Alaska Natives[4], or 'British or European Canadian' for the Inuit. This may have provided me a kind of neutrality in relation to people's general feelings, and as I indicate in Chapter 8, my Japanese appearance was sometimes received with positive curiosity and friendliness among Inuit and Yup'ik people.

## Influence, Biases and Contributing Fields

My intention here in setting out myself as the researcher is to explain that circumstances, including my birth, culture and experiences in environmental education, and my experiences of Arctic environments and indigenous peoples, made it possible for me to engage in this task. More importantly, however, my previous experiences did of course influence my thesis in terms of both insights and biases.

In conducting this study I hope to contribute to a body of education literature by presenting different cultural viewpoints. In addition, I hope to extend the framework of education in areas outside of mainstream Western worldviews to more cultural and local foci. Ultimately, I hope that various issues explored in this thesis will trigger fundamental questions about 'what education is for', 'what to teach' and 'how to teach it', and contribute to the discussion on education for sustainability.

## Definitions

It is useful to confirm usages of certain key words in this study at this point, though other terms are defined later when they appear in the text.

The complexity of terms such as the' environment', 'nature', 'naturalness', 'wildness' and 'wilderness' have been well recognised (Adams, 1996; Nash, 2001). Often 'nature' and the 'environment' are used interchangeably, especially in environmental literature. Concerning the concept of the 'environment', Altman and Chemers (1984, p. 4) categorise it as natural or built, and suggest that natural environment includes places and geographical features, environmental conditions, and flora and fauna. The built environment, on the other hand, is the result of people's alterations of the natural environment such as cities and farms. However, they do not discuss some geographical features that are drastically altered by human activities such as planted forest. Their categorisation is problematic in deciding whether, for example, a 'nature reserve', which can be the product of intensive

human management and intervention, is the 'natural' or 'built' environment. *Educating for a Sustainable Future* (University of Edinburgh, n.d.), on the other hand, proposes a broad view of the environment to include the natural, social, built, cultural and physical. Similarly, in *Learning to Sustain* (Smyth, 1998), the Scottish Environmental Education Council defines the environment as "the whole environment – physical and biological, human and non-human, natural, cultivated and constructed, social and political, cultural and aesthetic, and temporal with a past and a future" (p. 1). They further state that this external environment "interacts with an internal environment of needs and appetites, memories, expectations and visions, so that what we perceive is to some degree an individual selection and interpretation, and not an objective record" (p. 1).

Clearly the concept of the 'environment' is not readily definable, and individuals ascribe different meanings to it. In the present study, I chose to explore and work with people's perception of the 'environment'. However, when I use the word in a general phrase such as 'people's relationships with their environment', I mean the 'natural environment'. It is similar to the term 'nature' in the same sense Snyder (1990) defines as "the physical world, including all living things" or "a norm of the world that is apart from the features or products of civilization and human will" (p. 8). In this instance I intend to include the human-altered 'natural' landscape such as urban green spaces and parks, because none of the groups I worked with were surrounded by untouched wilderness. Whether the terms 'environment' and

'nature' include 'humans' and embrace "the dynamism of physical process and the cultural complexity of landscapes" (Adams, 1996, p. 3) is part of the analysis of the different study groups.

## Introducing the Thesis

The next chapter discusses people's relationships with nature, the perceived problems around such relationships, and educational responses to these problems. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology and methods used in the study. Chapter 4 explains the selection process of the study groups and presents findings concerning educational practices in the UK. The following chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 describe, explore and discuss each of the case studies. While each case study deals with issues which were specific to that group, generic issues pertaining to the four case-study chapters are dealt with and presented in a systematic manner. Each of these chapters is constructed as follows; overview of the research site, outline of the programmes and a description of the organisers, organisers' rationales, communities'/elders'/parents' views of the programmes, participants' perceptions of their experiences, and discussions. The common themes, including relationships with their environments, from all study cases are brought together in Chapter 9 for discussion. The ontological positions of indigenous groups are highlighted, as are the implications for education for sustainability. It summarises the possible contribution of the present study to the field of education, and locates the study in a continuing process.

Throughout this paper, to preserve confidentiality, most of the names of interviewees have been changed to two letters that are not their initials. The identity of the programme organisers and key informants are disclosed only with their agreement, and this was important to determine their credibility. In quotes, I am identified as 'TT'.

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Notes:

[1] *Oinarisama* is Shinto's *kami*, *Ukanomitama* or deity of the source of life, for which fox spirits are messengers.
[2] I italicised foreign words where they are not commonly used in the English language, and I followed their plural forms as in their own language. Where foreign words are well used in English, such as 'an igloo', I did not italicise them and followed English rules in plural forms.
[3] The use of the term 'traditional' or 'indigenous' is problematic as the terms may resonate with earlier anthropological work on 'primitive' cultures (Agrawal, 1995). The term 'traditional' could be misleading as backward and unchanging by comparison with 'modern' at the other end of a scale of progressive change (Schmink, Redford, & Padoch, 1992). These terms have no generally accepted delifnitions, and R. Barnes (1993) states that 'indigegnous peoples' is a political category whose definition will continue to change. However these terms are used here in contrast to mainstream 'Western' culture which has a Judeo-Christian background and a highly industrialised society.
[4] The 'Alaska Native' is a commonly used term to describe all indigenous peoples in Alaska. See Chapter 6.

# Chapter 2: Exploration in Literature

This study explores educational programmes in the light of people's relationships with nature and the implications for sustainability. The investigative nature of the research determines its multidisciplinary characteristics, and this chapter aims to explore boundaries and inform the research rather than scrutinise particular theories and philosophies. Other issues raised during the course of the study are discussed throughout the thesis.

In this chapter, I first refer to my basic understanding of the fluid nature of relationships between people and their environments. I discuss a widely held view, especially in so-called 'Western' societies, that people are increasingly alienated from their natural environment. I describe some of the major discussions on the roots of 'disconnection' that are attributed to Judeo-Christian influences, the Cartesian paradigm, and the development of the market economy with associated social change. The implications of the 'disconnections', and some arguments on the significance of 'connectedness' are presented. While the environmental and educational views are dominant in discourse, I also highlight perspectives of identity and well-being in relation to 'connection'. This chapter then turns to educational responses to these issues in the context of a promoted view in which people are seen as part of nature. I discuss education for sustainability and commonalities between Western and non-Western perspectives, in addition to differences in perceptions of

the environment. Then a notion of 'place-based education' is examined in relation to educational concerns on identity and well-being aspects of 'connection'. Finally, I discuss research on attempts to 'bond' people with the environment and show the conflicting results and complexity of the issue.

## Fluid Relationships with the Environment

Relationships between people and their environments have been of interest to a variety of disciplines, such as anthropology, sociology, geography, forestry and resource management, and recreation and leisure studies. Among them, 'cultural ecology', studies with a particular concern for culture-environment interaction (Vayda, 1977), traditionally has two orientations; a 'strong' orientation which views the environment as a determining and affecting factor of cultural processes, and a 'weak' position which is less concerned with establishing causal relations among cultural and environmental variables, focusing rather on their interrelations (Altman & Chemers, 1984). For the purpose of this study, I found the "social-system approach" of Altman and Chemers (1984, p. 9) useful because they recognise the complexities of the relationships between people and their environments. Their approach is to view "the environment, culture and people as an integrated and interdependent system" where each part is necessary to understand the others, affects the others in complex ways, and "all parts contribute to a social system that has meaning only insofar as all the components are described together" (Altman & Chemers, 1984, p. 9).

There have been various attempts to define human-nature relationships. An early proposal which seemed to offer a basic understanding was made by the social anthropologist Florence Kluckhohn (1953). She notes that attitudes to nature are

not static across cultures or time and suggests three general orientations. These orientations are:

1) people subjugated to nature (living at the mercy of powerful and uncompromising nature)
2) people in nature (all natural forces and people forms one harmonious whole: one is but an extension of the other, and both are needed to make the whole)
3) people over nature (dominating, exploiting and controlling) (Kluckhohn, 1953, p. 347)

While these categories are useful to recognise a variety of the relationships with nature, these tendencies include a variety of orientations within and can be seen simultaneously at the same time in the same culture. Pálsson (1999) identified two standpoints adopted by 'people over nature' (Kluckhohn, 1953). These he labelled 'orientalism' and 'paternalism'. 'Orientalism' parts nature from society, and suggests that people are masters of nature and can exploit the natural world (Pálsson, 1999, p. 66). While the 'paternalistic' position shares some assumptions of 'orientalism' such as mastery of nature, it seeks to protect, rather than exploits, nature (pp. 66-68). Pálsson (1999) adds another position of 'communalism' that rejects any radical distinction between nature and society, and that offers a way out of the contemporary environmental dilemmas (pp. 65-67 & 78). On the other hand, Tuan (1971) categorises people's attitudes to natural, built and modified environment into six, suggesting these attitudes to the environment are fluid and culture-bound. Similarly, Altman and Chemers (1984) stress the complexities and state that cultures

are not singular in their orientation to nature at any given time, and that societies hold aspects of all these tendencies to one degree or another, though one may be a more salient force.

A number of authors generally agree that the attitude of Western societies to the natural environment belong to a 'people over nature' model (e.g. Altman & Chemers, 1984; Greenway, 1995; Kluckhohn, 1953; O'Sullivan, 1999). Likewise, attitudes of indigenous peoples in North America are generally believed as belonging to a 'people in nature' model (e.g. Altman & Chemers, 1984; O'Sullivan, 1999; Pálsson, 1999). It should be pointed out that the relationships to the environment explored in the present study are that of individual groups rather than whole cultures or societies, and that they are not considered to be static.

In the literature on environmental issues, people's attitudes to nature are often linked to 'disconnection' from the environment, and my study revolves around this notion. The next section explores the notion of 'disconnection' or alienation from nature.

## Disconnection

In 2001 about half of the world's population lived in urban areas (National Statistics, 2001e), while in 'Western' nations the percentage was even higher: In North America and Europe, about 3/4 of the population (78% and 74% respectively) is urbanised, while in the UK the population was almost 90% (National Statistics, 2001c). The increased mobility of people has accelerated the separation from the land as well as from any particular place. Within the UK in 2001, about half a million people moved internally between Wales, England, Scotland and Northern Ireland (National Statistics, 2001b). Meanwhile an estimated 480,000 people arrived from overseas to live in the UK for at least a year and 308,000 left to live in other countries (National Statistics, 2001d).

Snyder (1990) writes:

> For most Americans to reflect on *home place* would be an unfamiliar exercise. Few today can announce themselves as someone *from* somewhere. Almost nobody spends a lifetime in the same valley, working alongside the people they knew as children. (p. 25)

This statement may be shared by some and be seen as exaggeration by others. However, as exemplified by this Pulitzer Prize American poet, this detachment from both a place and the natural environment in industrialised nations is widely noted by numerous authors who express uneasiness about people's disconnection from nature

(Abbey, 1984; Haas & Nachtigal, 1998; Lindholdt, 1999; Orr, 1992, 1996; Russell, 1999; Thomashow, 1995; Vitek & Jackson, 1996; Zencey, 1996). But how did the disconnection happen and what are the implications?

**Roots of Disconnection**

In environmental discourse, 'disconnection' from the environment is often directly tied to people's exploitative attitudes towards the natural environment. However, some authors such as Tuan (1974b) raise questions about a causal relationship between environmental attitudes based on certain worldviews and behaviours towards nature. Determining the cause of environmentally destructive behaviours is complex and beyond the scope of the present study. Here I focus on the roots of this perceived disconnection and the authors' perceptions of people's relationships with their environments.

A number of authors identify three major causes of the perceived 'disconnection', which relate mainly but not exclusively to Western societies. These are: Judeo-Christian influences, the Cartesian framework of thought, and the development of the market economy and associated social change. Many authors look for the roots of disconnection in the Cartesian framework, arguing that since the beginning of the17$^{th}$ century in the West this way of thinking has firmly established an ontological separation between people and nature. However, the origin of dualism in the West is not a simple issue. With respect to the discussion of environmental consequences

of disconnection, it is worth referring to certain historical developments in perceptions towards nature. This is a vast subject and it is not my purpose here to be exhaustive, but this context is important for current commentators' arguments on relationships with the natural environment.

*Judeo-Christian Influences*

In Judeo-Christian theological tradition, biblical reference to humans' dominion over every living thing was widely acknowledged, and the wilderness was portrayed as full of physical dangers, spiritual confusion, and an inhospitable environment surrounding the Holy Land (Glacken, 1999; Kaplan & Talbot, 1983)[1]. This idea seems to continue to the present day in the West because a contemporary notion of 'wild' is "often associated with unruliness, disorder, and violence" (Snyder, 1990, p. 5). Taming wild land by clearing and domesticating animals "defined man's achievement as he advanced towards civilisation" (Nash, 2001, p. 9), and civilisation was "virtually synonymous with the conquest of nature" (Thomas, 1984, p. 25). Spiritual meaning was found in built environments rather than in untouched natural surroundings (Kaplan & Talbot, 1983, p. 164).

Two views of biblical conceptions are suggested (Attfield, 1983; Glacken, 1999): one places plants and animals as human resources (despotic view) and another emphasises human superiority and custodianship (responsible-dominion view). The debate is divided between the two views. Some consider that in the early modern

period of Europe the despotic view was undoubtedly carried by its leading preachers and English exponents (Thomas, 1984) and that this view is embedded in Western people's attitudes (Passmore, 1974). Others have argued that the non-anthropocentric stewardship tradition "may well have been historically widespread" (Attfield, 1983, p. 225). Glacken (1999) considers that though both classical and biblical conceptions support an anthropocentric view of the role of human beings with regard to nature, the broader conception of the human race as a custodian of other forms of life has been a powerful ingredient in modern movements for conservation (p. 1).

*The Cartesian Frame of Thought*

Another cause of the 'disconnection' from the natural environment was sought in the Cartesian worldview. While acknowledging that the root of the nature-reason dualism lies in ancient thought, many commentators stress on the Cartesian mechanical thinking as the basis of a destructive attitude to nature (Callicott, 1983; Capra, 1997; Gurevich, 1922; Merchant, 1981; Pratt, Howarth, & Brady, 2000; Simmons, 1993; Taylor, 1989). Pratt et al. (2000) state that the dualism between mind and the material world had "a significant influence for our modern dealings with nature" (p. 44) because with the Cartesian construction of mind, the environment became fundamentally alien and not of humans' concern. Capra (1997) claims that the dominant social paradigm consists of a number of "entrenched ideas and values" (p. 6). He continues:

> among them the view of the universe as a mechanical system composed of elementary building-blocks, the view of the human body as a machine, the view of life in society as a competitive struggle for existence, the belief in unlimited material progress to be achieved through economic and technological growth. (p. 6)

This machine metaphor of the world, nature and the human body had a profound influence over the perception of nature and consequently the relationships with it (Callicott, 1983; Capra, 1997; Merchant, 1981; O'Sullivan, 1999; Plumwood, 1993; Pratt et al., 2000). What these authors suggest that this Cartesian view of the world has been dominant and its influence is immense, leading people to a notion that they can and should control the natural environment. Greenway (1995) illustrates as follows that it is a popular idea that people can control nature:

> We have thought, and continue to teach our children to think, that we can control nature, at least most of the time, and we have felt validated in this belief by the modest success of some of our inventions. This is still a popular idea...(p. 134)

O'Sullivan (1999) argues that together with "a loss of a sense of an integrated cosmology, the earth as a machine became a dead entity" (p. 84) to be controlled, manipulated and exploited, which echoes Merchant's (1981) claim. Consequently, authors claim that nature became an object and a sense of alienation from nature was enforced (Merchant, 1981; O'Sullivan, 1999; Pratt et al., 2000).

*The Development of the Market Economy and Associated Social Change*

Social change is integrated with the process of alienation from the environment. This is not to say that the disconnection from nature itself is a direct cause of the societal change, but as indicated in the "social-system" approach of Altman and Chemers (1984, p. 9), notions of the environment, a place, a community and a society are inseparable, influencing each other in a complex manner. The Cartesian view of the world was considered to have laid the foundation of European society as market-oriented, and still "enjoys cognitive hegemony in the modern world" (Oelschlaeger, 1991, p. 92). Based on mechanistic views of the world introduced in the 17th century, some commentators such as Merchant (1981) and O'Sullivan (1999) describe Western society as radically shifted from 'organic' to 'mechanical'[2].

At the end of the 19th century, many observers, including Scottish polymath Patrick Geddes, saw urbanisation as destructive to the individual, to the community, and to the human spirit. It convinced Geddes that the most fundamental question then and for the future was the relationship of people with their natural environment (Meller, 1990). As a town planner with a botany background, he pursued the creation of cities which is a unity of urban and rural and where individuals flourish by adopting themselves to the environment through their technology and activities (Welter, 2002).

In the 20th century Europe, rapid industrialisation and increasing urbanisation advanced the physical separation of people from the land. Economic growth

created a mass society and led to the satisfaction of material needs and expectations for the vast majority of the population (Pratt, 1992; Weston, 1986). At the same time, urban-industrial development generated service sector employment and improved working conditions which advanced people's opportunity for leisure (Guha & Martinez-Alier, 1997; Weston, 1986; Williams, Higgins, Humberstone, & Loynes, 1998). This enabled the public to go out of cities to 'visit' the countryside, but simultaneously industrialisation and urbanisation continued to consume more natural resources. The alienation coincided with monetary affluence, an increase in leisure time, and confidence in humans' capacity to dominate nature, which may have promoted a desire to protect and conserve nature. In this sense, ironically, the disconnection indirectly contributes to both current exploitative and conservationist attitudes towards the environment.

## Implications of Disconnection

### *Environmental Implications*

The literature concerning the environmental implications of disconnection was partly presented in earlier sections covering religious teaching and the modern framework of mind[3]. In addition, it is suggested that when people are disconnected, they are ignorant of the role of their natural surroundings, and nature becomes just "visual furniture" (Zencey, 1996, p. 17) or something trivial. Subsequently people are less likely to have an interest in and to care for the environment, which is claimed to lead to environmental consequences.

*Educational Implications*

The issue of disconnection is also discussed among environmental and outdoor educators from various perspectives. They are mostly not based on empirical studies but come from their long-term experiences, insights from observations and intuitions. Linked to environmental implications, a sense of connection is argued to be essential in encouraging sustainable practices (Higgins, 1996a, 1996b, 1997). Moreover, disconnection is claimed to influence not only cognitive and intellectual relationships but also emotional, aesthetic and spiritual engagement with the environment (Higgins, 1997). A link between positive sense of the self, others and the environment is argued by authors such as Mortlock (1973) and Cooper (1991, 1994). As mentioned earlier, highly complex elements are involved in individuals' behaviour and this study does not attempt to verify the link between disconnection and environmentally harmful behaviours. Nevertheless, the view to link between the two is strongly held among concerned individuals, and often motivates environmental programmes.

Further implications of disconnection from educational perspectives are seen in one of the fairly recent criticisms within outdoor educators. An instrumental approach towards the environment is regarded as using their field of learning and teaching as purely a means to achieve their project goals such as academic learning and personal and social skills, neglecting the ecological impact caused by their activities (Cooper,

1991; Loynes, 1999). Perhaps the strongest argument against such an instrumental approach comes from Nicol and Higgins (1998a) and Higgins (1999). They caution that conventional outdoor education tends to focus on elements such as adventure therapy, adventure education or personal and social development, and neglect environmental aspects of outdoor education such as fostering a harmonious relationship with natural environment.

The term 'instrumental' here suggests usage without care for what is being used. However, it should not be mistaken for the simple meaning of 'usability'. I argue that using the environment does not necessarily conflict with a desire to nurture harmonious relationships with the natural environment. For example, Fowles, cited in Hopkins and Putnam (1993), says "We shall never fully understand nature (or ourselves), and certainly never respect it, until we dissociate the wild from the notion of usability – however innocent and harmless the use" (p. 13). This narrow view of use is unhelpful, as it is both human centred and fails to acknowledge the global significance of biodiversity and ecosystems. Needless to say, human beings cannot survive without utilising nature, therefore, it is a misconception to assume we can dissociate the wild from the notion of usability. Moreover, the environment may be 'used' (not 'abused') in the context of outdoor experiential learning aiming at personal and social development, and at the same time the educational programmes can integrate environmental goals and ethics.

*Biological Implications*

The separation of people from the land is claimed to have fostered a longing to return to a natural environment (Bunce, 1994), which some consider as a proof of biological attachment between humans and nature. American biologist Edward Wilson (1993) claims that human nature carries the hereditary emotional affiliation (biophilia) to other living organisms. When people remove themselves from the natural environment, the "biophilic learning rules are not replaced by modern versions" (E. O. Wilson, 1993, pp. 31-32), and they persist from generation to generation. Thus, he continues, more people visit zoos, the wealthy seek to live on prominences above water, and urban dwellers dream of snakes for reasons they cannot explain (E. O. Wilson, 1993). Kellert (1997) supports the view and claims it is a "human need" to affiliate with nature and "our identity" remains rooted in connections with the natural world (p.1).

Malpas (1999) suggests that while the idea is expressed in very different ways in different cultures and traditions, "the basic notion of a tie between place and human identity is quite widespread in contemporary culture" (p. 4). A similar account is offered by others. For example, the social anthropologist Thompson (1990) claims a strong attachment to place among the Chinese, and Descola and Pálsson (1999b) suggest that such a strong attachment to the land, 'topophilia' (Tuan, 1974b), is a common feature of human societies. They suggest that globalisation does not erase such 'local' concerns but it redefines them (Descola & Pálsson, 1999a, p. 15).

*Identity and Well-being Aspect*

Numerous authors lament the physical and emotional detachment of people from the natural environment, and argue the importance of 'rootedness'[4] in relation to identity and well-being (Berry, 1978; Fredrickson & Anderson, 1999; Harvey, 1993; Malpas, 1999; Relph, 1976; Thomashow, 1995; Tuan, 1976; Vitek & Jackson, 1996). Bacherlard (1994), for example, considers the self is discovered through an exploration of the places it inhabits. Malpas (1999) views the structure of the mind as intrinsically tied to locality and spatiality, and stated that identities are "intricately and essentially place-bound" (p. 177). Miriam Kahn (1996) suggests that places "represent connections between people and their common past, individuals and their group, or sources of individual or shared identity, rooting them in the social and cultural soils" (p. 194). Arguing against critics who consider linkage between identity and relationships with landscape as a literary conceit, Maplas (1999) states that the human relationship to place is a "fundamental structure in what makes possible the sort of life that is characteristically human and human identity" (p. 13).

Many authors who speak about 'rootedness' also refer to 'homelessness' [rootlessness] as something negative, and attempt to delineate a notion of 'home' that appears often in discussions of place and identity (Malpas, 1999; Relph, 1976). 'Home' to Relph (1976) is where your roots are, a centre of safety and security, a field of care and concern, and a point of orientation. 'Homelessness' usually implies an unsettling situation, thus lacking a sense of place. On the other hand,

Cuthbertson, Heine, & Whitson (1997) argue that mobility may promote "an equally emphatic connection to a larger whole". Through ecologically and culturally sensitive travel, they claim that the process of being associated with multiple landscapes may enhance understandings and affections of a web of other places and contribute to a more holistic sense of place (Cuthbertson, Heine, & Whitson, 1997). It may be possible to broaden their understanding and familiarisation to various settings through a series of direct experiences, though this 'cosmopolitanism' seems fundamentally different from the argument of 'dwelling' and 'rootedness' as these are about integrated life and a different geographical sensibility. "Citizens of the *cosmo polis*", explains Zencey (1996), are supposed to "owe no allegiance to geographical territory" (p. 15), belonging to the boundless world of ideas and cultures. He identifies a tendency embedded in Western tradition to value the universal over the particular and to mistake "disconnected from locale" for "educated" (Zencey, 1996, p. 15) and advocates a "politics of rootedness in place" instead of "placeless identity" (p. 17). What Cuthbertson et al. (1997) claim is an intellectual and perhaps emotional connection, and contrary to the concept of 'home' and 'rootedness' discussed above, it does not seem to go much beyond the handling of the environment as external and objective.

Phenomenological work around 'rootedness' and 'a sense of place', especially among cultural geographers, is influenced by ideas of 'dwelling' or "being in a world" (Heidegger, 1993, p. 55). Heidegger (1993) considers 'dwelling'

inseparable from other activities in life. This thread of thought indicates significance of involvement with the place from the perspectives of people's well-being and existence as a whole (see Casey, 1996; Massey, 1993; Relph, 1989). Malpas (1999) explains that Heidegger considered that what is connected with the land is not merely human identity but the very possibility of being that can "engage *with* a world (with the objects and events within it), that can think *about* that world, and that can find itself *in* the world" (p. 8). 'Place as experience' is suggested by a numbers of thinkers (Basso, 1996; Jackson & Penrose, 1993; Kahn, 1996; Relph, 1989), and it has multiple dimensions of "psychical, physical, cultural, historical and social" (Casey, 1996, p. 31).

Their suggestion about place fits in with existing interpretations of various indigenous peoples in the world. The works of many authors claim a strong bond with the land among indigenous peoples which is physical, historical, cultural, social, emotional and spiritual (Basso, 1996; Brody, 1987; Carmichael, Hubert, & Reeves, 1994; Caulfield, 1997; Cuthbertson et al., 1997; Fienup-Riordan, 1990; Kawagley, 1995; Malpas, 1999; Tuan, 1976). Removal from the land implies a deprivation of their substance as well as of their spirituality. In this respect, re-establishing the bond is described as a healing process (Malpas, 1999).

The literature so far suggests the significance of connectedness with the place in both Western and non-Western contexts. A notion of 'place' in the argument is not

always limited to the natural environment, and this finding has an important implication for how people understand 'place' and the environment, and thus contributes to discussion of people's relationships with the environment.

## Educational Responses to Disconnection

Having examined the issues around 'disconnection', this section provides an overview of educational responses to solving the perceived problems. First, I describe a call for new educational frame of reference, and explore a notion of 'education for sustainability' (EFS). In order to do so, I need to examine the complexity of and differences between the terms 'sustainable development' and 'sustainability', and I discuss the terminology of 'educations' with a special interest in a link between environmental education (EE) and EFS. Having established a basis for discussion, non-Western dimensions are examined in the context of the change in educational frame of reference. I note that the concept of 'sustainability' may bridge the Western and non-Western worldviews. At the same time, however, I point out differences at a deeper level to draw attention to a culturally sensitive approach to education. After that, I consider the concept of 'place-based education' as encompassing identity and well-being aspects of 'connectedness'. Research and literature concerning attempts to 'bond' people with the environment is considered, and the complexities of the issues around nature experiences and behaviours are

discussed. Finally, the study is located within educational attempts to 'bond' people with the environment.

**A Call for a Shift in the Mainstream Educational Frame of Reference**

As mentioned earlier, disconnection from the environment is viewed by some as being partly responsible for environmental problems, and the perceived causes of the disconnection are commonly seen as rooted in a dichotomy between nature and culture, with people separated from, but in command of nature. Therefore, in the West, there is a call for reforms in education from the current mechanistic framework to an ecological or holistic one which views humans as parts of a larger whole (Capra, 1997; Engel, 1990; Fien, 1993a; Gough, 1987; O'Sullivan, 1999; Palmer, 1998; Smyth, 1995, 1998; Sterling, 1990, 2001a, 2001b). Linking human-nature relationships and education, for example, Palmer (1998) states that the critical issue for educators is educating the world's citizens "about our relationship with Planet Earth" (p. 3). Plant (1998) considers that "the ways humans interact with and interpret nature, and the significance of the idea of nature are fundamental issues" for education (p. 169). Moreover, Huckle (2001) states that while "most of us are taught to believe in an external nature separate from society", actually "we ourselves are nature" (p. 3).

Capra (1997) considers this shift "from the mechanistic worldview of Descartes and Newton to a holistic, ecological view" as so profound that he calls it a "paradigm

shift" (p. 5). He states that "we are at the beginning of a fundamental change of worldview in science and society, a change of paradigms as radical as the Copernican Revolution" (p. 4). The 'holistic' or 'ecological' education is presented in a variety of forms, but one of the common characteristics is a recognition of the "fundamental interdependence of all phenomena" and humans being part of "the cyclical processes of nature" (Capra, 1997, p. 6). The 'holistic' educational framework also emphasises participation, appreciation and self-organisation. Table 2.1 shows Capra's (1997) idea of the characteristics of current Western cultural views (self-assertive) and the proposed sustainable modes (integrative) on both thinking and values.

Table 2.1 Shifts from current 'self-assertion' mode of thinking and values to 'integration'

| THINKING | | VALUES | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Self-assertive | Integrative | Self-assertive | Integrative |
| Rational | Intuitive | Expansion | Conservation |
| Analysis | Synthesis | Competition | Cooperation |
| Reductionist | Holist | Quantity | Quality |
| Linear | Nonlinear | Domination | Partnership |

Source: Capra (1997, p.10)

The environmental philosophy Deep Ecology has had a significant influence on the advocates of the worldview-shift and those who are concerned about meanings of place[5], thus has implications for education. The Deep Ecology movement claims that the richness of life on Earth is greatest when the diversity of life forms is greatest, and that humans are intimately a part of the natural environment in its

diversity and interdependence (Devall, 1990; Naess, 1989; Reed & Rothenberg, 1993; Sessions, 1995). Devall (1990) asserts that the themes of Deep Ecology are found 'in many philosophies and religions, including Native American spiritual practices, Zen Buddhism ... and in rituals and ceremonies of many gathering and hunting peoples" (p. 11)[6].

While Deep Ecology has had a significant influence on the environmental movement and educators who advocate changes in educational strategies, both Deep Ecology and the changes in education require ontological transformation among many people in present industrialised nations, typically Europe and the USA. Education, especially school education, usually reinforces mainstream culture and values (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970/1994), and is considered partly responsible for maintaining the dominant worldviews and causing and maintaining 'unsustainable living' (Orr, 1994; Sterling, 2001b). Even so, commentators claim that by implication EFS seeks to influence society and holds this potential for ontological change (Barr, 1998; Sterling, 2001b), which I will explore in the following section.

## Education for Sustainability

*Sustainable Development or Sustainability?*

'Sustainable Development'[7] (SD) and 'sustainability' are often used interchangeably. However these terms are much debated and the discrepancies between the interpretations have significant implications for education.

From the beginning, the term SD has generated a variety of competing interpretations (Dresner, 1996; Escobar, 1995; Jacobs, 1991; Maser & Kirk, 1996; Pearce, Markandya, & Barbier, 1989; Richardson, 1997; Wilbanks, 1994)[8]. Mainstream SD remains in favour of technology and market self-adjustment to solve ecological crisis (Beckerman, 1995a, 1995b; Low & Gleeson, 1998; Pearce et al., 1989; Spaargarten & Mol, 1992)[9], but as a whole, many authors are "not yet convinced that we know what sustainable development ought to be" (Engel, 1990, p. 2)[10]. Nonetheless the commentators on SD commonly refer to three areas: ecology, society and economics (sometimes the term 'policy' is used in its broad sense, covering economics). In addition, in Selman's (1996) wordings 'equity' is agreed as a principle in terms of "inter-" (futurity) and "intra-generational" as well as "transfrontier responsibility" (p. 11). In other words, SD must be applied to everyone everywhere, including those who will live in the future. It is hard to argue against this as a principle.

Authors who are critical of the dominant Western mode of 'development' prefer the term 'sustainability' to SD even though 'sustainability' itself is not a clear-cut concept. O'Riordan (1988) for example, states that 'sustainability' is primarily about the environment whereas SD is ultimately about economic development. On the other hand, in most policy documents, including Agenda 21 (Quarrie, 1992), the two terms are used interchangeably[11], and some authors regard 'sustainability' as a convenient shorthand (Selman, 1996).

Major international documents and the UN conferences following the Rio Summit clearly indicate the importance of education to achieve SD or sustainability. However, with SD and sustainability as contested concepts, the way forward for education is clearly problematic. Whether education for SD is a vehicle to support the current political and economic system or to realise an equitable and ecologically sustainable global society is a critically important distinction to make. Educators need to be well aware of 'which education' they are engaged in and where they are going with it.

*Environmental Education and Education for Sustainability*

Identifying 'types of education' such as Outdoor Education, Ecological Education and Development Education has been complex, and many advocates tend to insist on their own boundaries and meanings of education under certain titles. Judging from their claims, these 'educations' share some common elements but at the same time they are distinctive in important ways. However, as Palmer (1998) and Smyth (1998) point out, often even the same 'type' of education is not united under one definition, depending on individual practitioners and researchers. Linked to a concept of sustainability and education, Smyth (1998) identifies several different combinations: Environment and Development Education, Education for Sustainable Development, Sustainability Education, Education for Sustainability, Education for

Environment and Sustainability and so on, suggesting the choice sometimes depends on "the political advantage of the circumstances" (p. 2).

In examining the literature, this study uses the term of a choice of each author, but I prefer the term 'Education for Sustainability' (EFS) to include 'educations' addressing sustainable living and equity both in the present and future for everyone, and to encompass significant aspects of 'connection' mentioned earlier (environmental, educational, biological and identity). Nevertheless, EE in its broad definition[12] seems to be closely aligned with EFS, and some EE authors clearly embrace the concept in their description of EE (Fien, 1993a, 1993b; University of Edinburgh, n.d.; Zelezny, 1999)[13]. Moreover, development of definitions of EE in major international policy documents indicates an inclusion of the concept of sustainability, referring to culture, ecology, economics and policy (Palmer, 1998; Scottish Office Education Department, 1993b). In the early 1970s, American educator Terry (1971) stated that "all education is environmental education" (p. xvii) in the same context of EFS, covering society, ecology and policy. Smyth (1998), placing EFS as EE's objective, states that the adoption of SD has made EE pay more attention to issues of equity, which are not previously stressed (pp. 4 & 91)[14].

While educators may be able to agree on the broad principles of EFS aiming for sustainable and equitable society, a question still remains; as to what practitioners are expected to deliver. Fien et al. (1993) state that if "EE [EFS] is one of the social

agencies through which the transformation to an ecologically sustainable society is to be achieved, then the role of teachers as change agents is vital" (p. vi). This claim resonates with Plant's (1998) 'critical orientation' of EE, which attempts to enable individuals to participate in the power structures that shape the environment (p. 95). On the other hand, some authors in the UK indicate a reluctance on the part of school science teachers to engage deeply with EE that has an ethical component (MacDonald, 2003; Reiss, 2001). They also suggest that there is a desire to retain a conventional style of 'education *about* the environment' in which educators focus on delivering scientific knowledge to analyse environmental problems (Plant, 1998, p. 92; Trudgill, 1999). As long as SD focuses on moral principles about what *ought to be,* which has to do with values, rather than what *is* (Trzyna, 1995; Viederman, 1995), many teachers may have difficulty engaging in EFS, in particular an ethical element of EFS where "some human actions can be seen as less justifiable than others" (MacDonald, 2003, p. 527).

*Non-Western Dimensions*

The discussions so far in this chapter have been drawn predominantly from Western viewpoints and heavily ecological perspectives. In part, this is because the environment and education literature is mainly written for Western readers, and partly because many authors tend to consider Western ideas as paramount even when they write with an international context in mind. Nonetheless, a feeling of 'impasse' in the contemporary Western frame of mind encouraged commentators to

look at other worldviews, including native North American cultures and oriental traditions as a way out. This quest made sense in attempting to overcome the human-nature dichotomy, because it has been claimed especially that not all cultures accept a human-nature dualism as reality (Callicott, 1983; Dwyer, 1996; Ellen, 1996; Ingold, 1996; Plant, 1998; Simmons, 1993). Simultaneously, it is acknowledged that, despite highly developed cultural and social constructions of their environments among many indigenous peoples, they "may not yet have been articulated in western languages where they are accessible to European scholars in the kind of detail which is demanded" (Simmons, 1993, p. 11), or a Western framework could not recognise the diversified forms of literature and learning systems (LaChapelle, 1991).

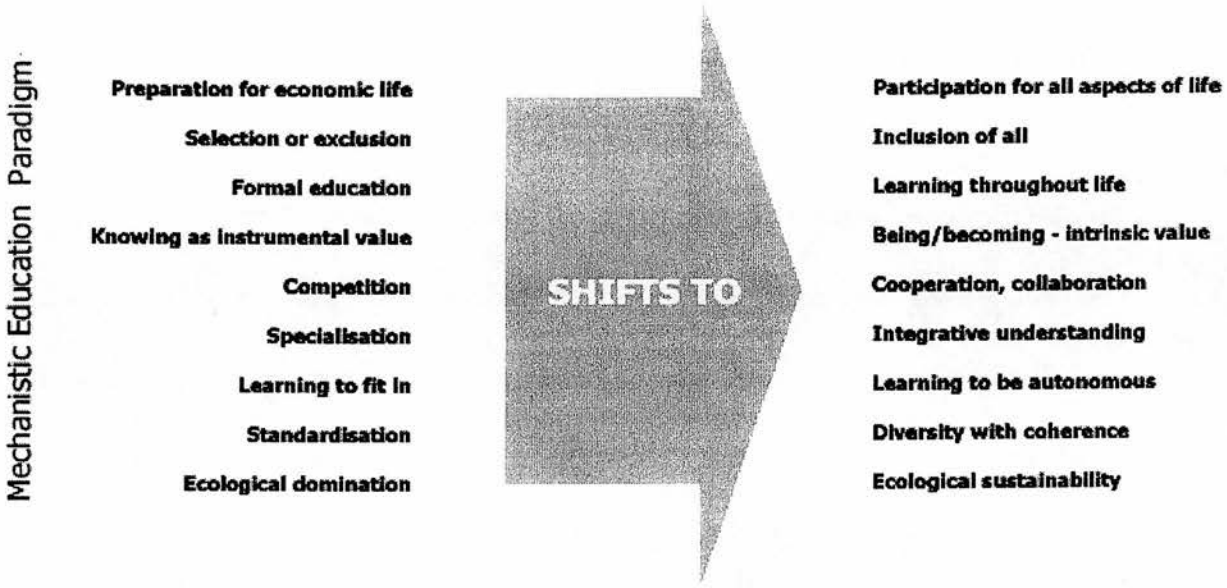
Nevertheless, many commentators believe that generally indigenous peoples' original belief and their relationships with the natural environment have significant implications for sustainable living (Beinart & Coates, 1995; Callicott, 1983; LaChapelle, 1991; Lee & DeVore, 1968; O'Sullivan, 1999; Pálsson, 1999). In the context of the American Indians, Callicott (1983, p. 230) suggests that they included and supported an environmental ethic, and Basso (1996, pp. 85-86) describes how the Western Apache people merge places and human minds. The beliefs and attitudes of the Western Apache people are observed to be woven into their relationships with the natural environment, and natural entities are believed to have the same consciousness as human beings (Basso, 1996). O'Sullivan (1999) calls for Western education to engage in "the profound significance of indigenous knowledge"

(p. 100) and states that dialogues with world perspectives that have holistic worldviews would generate new and more enriched perspectives.

Therefore advocated education concerning people's relationships with nature is profoundly influenced by the worldviews of traditional societies. For example, Figure 2.1 shows one of the models of the educational framework shift proposed by Western educators[15]. Table 2.2 is a summary of the Yup'ik understanding of the world and its educational application as an example of an indigenous people's framework. Though this description in Table 2.2 is in the context of Alaska Native peoples (Kawagley & Barnhardt, 1999), 'traditional knowledge systems' identified elsewhere also present similar characteristics (Berkes, 1999; Knudtson & Suzuki, 1992).

While over-generalisation should be avoided, it is clear from comparing Figure 2.1 and Table 2.2 that in theory a suggested ecological framework overlaps with indigenous knowledge systems. Smith and Williams (1999) urge the incorporation of different worldviews concerning relationships with nature in order to craft "an ecologically sustainable form of living" (p. 1). There is an implication that the concept of 'sustainability' may bridge the Western and non-Western worldviews.

Figure 2.1 A model of 'Educational Paradigm Shift'




Source: David Key (2002) adapted from Stephen Sterling (2001a)

Table 2.2 Indigenous ecological understandings and educational application

| Indigenous View | Educational Application |
|---|---|
| Long-term perspective | Education must be understood (and carried out) across generations |
| Interconnectedness of all things | Knowledge is bound to the context in which it is to be used (and learned), and all elements are interrelated |
| Adaptation to change | Education must continuously be adapted to fit the times and place |
| Commitment to the commons | The whole is greater than the sum of its parts |

Source: Kawagley & Barnhardt (1999, p. 134)

Most dominant discussions in international politics, including issues around sustainability, are based on mainstream social values, and consequently fail to address non-Western worldviews. The concept of SD was mentioned already as contested within a broadly categorised Western world, but it causes even more tension among different worldviews. In the context of disagreement on 'wildlife management' in Greenland, Caulfield (1997) describes conflicting idea-systems

between Greenlanders and Euro-Americans. My previous research in Greenland (Takano, 2000) supports Caulfield's observation that the different belief systems are mutually incomprehensible. Usually the local people feel pressured by external authorities concerning their own lifestyles (Brody, 1983, 1987). Having acknowledged that peoples in different cultures think differently and have a variety of relationships with the environment, many researchers stress the importance of the cultural dimension with regard to environmental policies linked to SD (Fischer & Black, 1995; Hajer, 1995; Harvey, 1999; Sachs, 1999).

While the literature I have dealt with here is overwhelmingly written by Western authors with Western-type societies in mind, descriptions of non-Western worldviews linked to learning and relationships with the environment are increasingly presented. In Alaska, for example, the University of Alaska Fairbanks has conducted extensive research and projects around indigenous knowledge systems. Yup'ik mathematician Kawagley describes Yup'ik worldviews and claims that the Western form of science is not the only legitimate one existing in the world[16] (Kawagley, 1995, 1999; Kawagley & Barnhardt, 1999; Kawagley, Norris-Tull, & Norris-Tull, 1998). In Hawaiian context, Meyer, based on her personal experiences in the American "colonial educational system" (1998, p. 38), submits a notion of 'cultural epistemology' and outlines seven epistemological categories in learning and teaching (2001). Among those categories, she identifies Hawaiian ontological realities and knowledge shaped by the environment. She calls for validating various ways of

knowing, and claims knowledge is something people *cause* through experiences and senses, which she calls 'sonsory knowledge'(Meyer, 1998, 2001), and concludes that experience is "the most important aspect of a Hawaiian knowledge structure" (Meyer, 2001, p. 129).

Nonetheless, there are uncertain areas in literature concerning indigenous peoples. The history of social change inflicted by Euro-American invasion is documented from local peoples' perspectives, and so is the consequential confusion and loss of traditional knowledge and cultures. On the other hand, a body of literature describes the peoples' present traditional worldviews and stresses cultural resilience. At the same time, others indicate the society's transformation along with globalisation. What is lacking is a fuller picture of their contemporary worldviews and their relationships with the land as well as their perceptions about them. A 'paradigm model' among Western educators could be a romanticised construct of indigenous people's views.

This discussion may resonate with what Nuttall (1998) calls 'indigenous environmentalism', in which the image of indigenous peoples as being original ecologists has become political. Nuttall (1998) argues that the notion of 'noble savages' is created from the needs of both sides: those in developed nations wanting a new inspiration to deal with environmental problems, and indigenous peoples seeking to gain self-determination and control over resources. Using indigenous

worldviews as a model of the holistic educational framework for sustainability would certainly, and probably rightly, raise the political and social status of these peoples. However this seems to contradict with the claims that their cultures are being greatly influenced by Euro-American values and modernisation, and that few people even know the traditional worldviews and stories while even less practise them.

*Education WITH Environment*

The dominance of the Western framework is also apparent in EE discourse (Plant, 1998). Education must be locally appropriate in order to be meaningful, thus in Western cultures EE needs to be operated in conjunction with appropriate values and understanding of the world. Simultaneously, it has to be recognised that the same framework is not necessarily appropriate in different cultures and societies, therefore the Western way of education can not be simply regarded as 'universal' and applied everywhere. Concurrently, acknowledging other worldviews may provide precious learning as described in the following.

It has been widely accepted among Western environmental educators that the components of EE can be defined as education 'in', 'about' and 'for' the environment (Huckle, 1993; Lucas, 1991; Palmer, 1998; Smith, 1996). While some argue that EE should not be merely 'in' and 'about' (Gough, 1987; Huckle, 1993; Plant, 1998), the interpretation of 'for' the environment varies. Lucas (1991) uses the term as equivalent to 'preservation'[17] of the environment (p. 28), whereas Smith

(1996) states that it is concerned with "caring use of the environment" (p. 17) to solve environmental problems with understanding of conflicting interests and different cultural perspectives. These two positions seem to resonate with those of many other commentators[18].

Judging from ethnographic and educational descriptions, particularly in North America and the Arctic, of indigenous peoples' traditional worldviews, education 'for' the environment, as often understood in the West, does not seem to fit their ontology. In their worldviews, where people and other life forces are an integral part of the whole, they do not think that people learn something 'for' the environment because such a concept is possible only when these two are consciously separate. What they learn and do for the environment is simultaneously for themselves. They learn and live 'with' the environment rather than 'for'.

As apparent in Lucas (1991), the concept of 'education *for* the environment' connotes human-nature separation, and with respect to human-nature relationships, it can be identified as 'paternalism' following Pálsson's (1999) framework. Gough (1987) questions the category of 'for' the environment by saying "who are we to say what is *good for* the environment, and which environment is *the environment*?" (p. 50)[19] This category, Gough argues, seems to work against the ecological worldview. I agree with Gough (1987) in proposing 'education *with* environments' to shift attention to interrelationships. By incorporating an idea of education 'with' the

environment or environments, mainstream Western education may be able to contribute to building a relationship with nature which a number of authors suggest is fundamental to attaining sustainable living as discussed earlier.

**Place-Based Education**

My main concern so far has been the environmental dimension of people's disconnection or connection with nature. 'Place-based education', which includes the concept of EFS, embraces wide aspects, in particular communities and locality in the context of identity and well-being. The Orion Society, an American non-profit environmental education organisation, has explicitly engaged in 'place-based education'. They define the term as "a pedagogy grounded in community that promotes nature literacy - local knowledge of the connections between nature and culture - and inspires humane stewardship and informed decision-making" (Orion Society, 2002). This fairly new term is used mainly in the USA, but the concept dates back centuries (Knapp, 2003) as an education based on direct experience and sensory exploration in the local setting. A similar concept is also referred to as ecological education, bioregional education, pedagogy of place, or curriculum of place. *Living and Learning in Rural Schools and Communities* (Harvard Graduate School of Education, 1999) states that place-based education is not an alternative pedagogy, but about "rooting the work in the local setting, giving greater attention to place, and finding ways to make connections to the community, its history, culture, economic circumstances, arts, flora, fauna and landscapes" (p. 10).

Haas and Nachtigal (1998) claim that "Modern schools teach children to leave home/communities" (p. xi) and take part in the global economy. This statement also applies to many non-Western societies where the dominant Western educational framework was introduced. A body of research in appropriate education for Alaska Natives supports the idea of community and place-based curriculum (Alaska Science Consortium & Alaska Rural Systemic Initiative, 2001; Barnhardt, 1988; Kushman & Barnhardt, 1999; Lipka, Mohatt, & the Ciulistet Group, 1998).

As indicated, the connections among people and their surroundings determine 'living well' (Berry, 1978; Harvey, 1993; Malpas, 1999; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1976; Vitek & Jackson, 1996) and have ecological implications (Haas & Nachtigal, 1998; Orr, 1992, 1996; Smith & Williams, 1999). In this context, Haas and Nachtigal (1998) stress the importance of schools being firmly located in the context of communities. Focusing on place also implies economy, lifestyle, globalisation, spirituality, environmental and cultural diversities and the interconnections between them (Haas & Nachtigal, 1998). The value of such education is argued for extensively within the realm of environmental ethics and holistic learning (Cajete, 1999; Kalinowski, 1999; Kawagley & Barnhardt, 1999; Scollon & Scollon, 1988; Thomashow, 2002), and a number of attempts are documented (Harvard Graduate School of Education, 1999). Discussions on implications of 'disconnection' and educational response to the problem all inform my study. In particular, place-based education, which is

built on many sources of ideas around place and sustainability, is very close to my core interest.

**Attempts at 'Connection'**

As mentioned earlier, 'disconnection' is perceived to lead to a variety of troubles, which are fundamental threats to sustainability ecologically and culturally. There are a variety of attempts to 'connect' based on certain assumptions. In order to build connection with nature, the benefits of direct involvement with the natural environment are extensively argued (Cajete, 1994; Fredrickson & Anderson, 1999; Gray, 1993; Greenway, 1995; Higgins, 1997; Kaplan & Talbot, 1983; Kimmel, 1999; Mortlock, 1973; Reed & Rothenberg, 1993; Relph, 1989). However, especially when the importance of emotional attachment to nature is a topic of discussion, a linear educational model tends to be offered: if one is connected to nature, one would love and care for it; then one would act to protect it; nature experiences would foster the connection and the love. Russell (1999) admits by saying:

> ... not so long ago I firmly believed that the environmental crisis had been caused by human disconnection from nature; my job as an environmental educator was to provide nature experiences to heal this rift. (p. 123)

Though Russell (1999) moved away from a linear thinking of the role of nature experience in environmental education, many authors argue for affinity with the natural environment as a basis for pro-environmental behaviour (e.g. Abbey, 1984;

Orr, 1992, 1994) as this seems a rational and comfortable assumption. Fondness may be one of the necessary conditions not to actively destroy nature, but assessing predictors of pro-environmental behaviour is a multifaceted and complex task (Cottrell & Graefe, 1997; Mittelstaedt, Sanker, & Vanderveer, 1999), and methodology can be problematic (Eagles & Demare, 1999; Emmons, 1997). Nonetheless, a body of research, largely quantitative, was accumulated especially in the USA to determine what is likely to enhance environmentally responsible behaviour. A number of models were submitted and tested (e.g. Borden & Schettino, 1979; Cottrell & Graefe, 1997; Hines, Hungerford, & Tomera, 1986/87; Hungerford & Volk, 1990; Hwang, Kim, & Jeng, 2000; Ramsey & Hungerford, 1989; Sia, 1984; Sia, Hungerford, & Tomera, 1985/86).

Various studies support the important role of affection towards the environment. Sia, for example, indicated three major behaviour predictors as 'perceived skills in and knowledge of environmental action strategies, and environmental sensitivity' (Sia, 1984; Sia et al., 1985/86). Environmental sensitivity, defined as "a set of affective attributes which result in an empathetic perspective towards the environment" (Sia, 1984, p. 27), especially drew researchers' attention for further research (Hungerford & Volk, 1990; Metzger & McEwen, 1999). Some research results claim that direct sensory experiences outdoors foster environmental sensitivity (Metzger & McEwen, 1999), and that experiential nature programmes such as camping enhance an empathic relationship to nature, environmental

awareness and pro-environmental attitudes and actions (Mittelstaedt et al., 1999), as well as better social behaviour and higher moral judgement (Palmberg & Kuru, 2000). McIntyre and Roggenbuck (1998) analysed the comments on the nature of adventure programmes from participants who were undergraduate students, and the result indicated the feeling of connection and values such as appreciation, amazement, awe, timelessness, being alone and "at one with nature" (p. 419).

However, Russell (1999) argues that nature experiences are taken up in multiple ways and a linear model of the role of the experiences is too simplistic. Emmons's work (1997) warns that the relationships between learning in EE and positive action cannot be explained easily by a focus on the various predictors of individual behaviours or the manipulation of behaviours (p. 34). She states that those relationships are "interactive, dynamic, and greatly influenced by the participants and the social situations within which they operate" (Emmons, 1997, p. 34). Knapp and Poff (2001) found that young participants ($4^{th}$ graders) on an environmental interpretive experience class were less likely to exhibit environmentally responsible behaviours as time increased from the actual field trip. Some studies suggest that nature experiences may contribute to ecological knowledge and environmental awareness, but not to environmental attitudes (Gillet, Thomas, Skok, & McLaughlin, 1991), and some works conclude that the positive link with the natural environment does not necessarily transfer to pro-environmental behaviour (Haluza-Delay, 1999; Hanna, 1995).

The results of the accumulated research indicate that it is naive to assume any linear causal relationship concerning experiences such as 'if one cares for oneself, one cares for the Earth'. Nature experiences may or may not cultivate love and a sense of connection in the sense that John Dewey (1973) said that not all experiences are "genuinely or equally educative" (p. 25). Equally love and a sense of connection may or may not lead to pro-environmental attitudes. There is no guarantee that such attitudes always result in environmentally positive behaviours. However, no authors argue against the significance of experiences and direct contact with nature having potential for building connection.

As mentioned earlier, the importance of 'connection' and a sense of place has been elaborated in the literature. The significant role that education can play in this regard has also been discussed. Relph (1976), for example, states that "if places are a fundamental aspect of man's existence in the world, if they are sources of security and identity for individuals and for groups of people, then it is important that the means of experiencing, creating and maintaining significant places are not lost" (p. 96). Relph (1989) distinguishes place from space and landscape in its "experiential dimension" as qualitatively different, and states that places are constructed in people's memories and affections through repeated encounters and complex associations (p. 26). Miriam Kahn (1996) suggests that "life activity is punctuated and recalled by places where people have been" (p. 193). The implication for

educational programmes is that participants would build a sense of place where they had 'life activity' and that the quality of experiences increase with repeated encounters over a long period of time.

Educational attempts are conducted, both in Western and non-Western societies, to create a deeper connection between people and the land or to pursue their ways of knowing (Baldwin, 1997; Green, 1998; Harvard Graduate School of Education, 1999; Henley, 1989; Iskander, 1994; Meyer, 1994). However the attempts among indigenous peoples in particular have not been extensively documented by third parties nor analysed from the perspective of their relationships with the environment. The implications of these attempts for EFS are not fully discussed. The same is true of programmes in Western societies, although a large body of literature suggests the importance of building connections. One apparent paradox highlighted by this review is that the literature concerning indigenous peoples often describes them as already having deep relationships with the environment, while the same people simultaneously state their need to establish such a connection with the land.

The task of this research, then, is to locate those attempts in both Western and non-Western societies, and explore the nature of these projects. This study seeks to understand to what extent the significance of 'connection' is addressed, and what sort of relationships with the environment are expressed or developed among the peoples in the particular settings. Moreover the importance of the cultural and geographical

context in developing such relationships is examined. I now turn to the particulars of the research design.

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Notes:

[1] Passmore (1974) and Oelschlaeger (1991) suggest that in Mesopotamia, people had already started to transform nature. While some authors portray Greek society as cosmological and carrying environmental ethics (Nash, 1989; O'Neill, 1993; O'Sullivan, 1999) and claim that the traditional European communities had close links to nature (Gurevich, 1922; Merchant, 1981; Nash, 2001; O'Sullivan, 1999; Simmons, 1993; Taylor, 1989), others argue that ancient Greek thought is already a source of the dualism (Callicott, 1983; Glacken, 1967, 1999; Plumwood, 1993; Spelman, 1988; Taylor, 1989) and the Greeks and Romans caused serious ecological impact (Callicott, 1983; Tuan, 1974a).

[2] Whether medieval European societies can be called 'organic' or not is debatable, depending on the definitions and the commentators' primary concern. Sociologists have used various labels for dichotomies to "differentiate homogeneous folk societies from the more complex urban societies" (Kluckhohn, 1953, p. 351), including 'traditional-modern', 'organic-mechanical' and 'rural-urban'. The term 'organic' has been widely used in discussions of political science to indicate an interrelationship between specific elements. In Britain, 18th century British political theorist Edmund Burke and a British philosopher Raymond Williams (1988) used the term to social organisation. Burke considered that society is the product of organic growth (Eccleshall et al., 2003), and promoted such a society where the emphasis is on the members' interrelations and a cumulative process of development over time (see Adams & Sydie, 2002; Williams, 1990). While Burke argued against liberalism, the concept of the organic society resembles that of *Gemeinschaft* which German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies (1955) developed as an analytical tool that views social practices and institutions as infused with intrinsic worth. He stated that with a growth of urbanisation and industrialisation, human relationships would transform from a *Gemeinschaft* into *Gesellschaft* which is fundamentally conditioned by rational will where individuals remain independent of one another and devoid of mutual familiar relationships (Tönnies, 1955)

[3] Brody (2001) argues environmental implications of the economies and societies of "different kinds of human beings" (p. 313); hunter-gatheres and farmers. He claims that farmers and their cultural descendents are the 'nomads' who constantly look for new places to settle, transform and control, and their societies have not been ecologically sustainable. On the contrary, economies of hunter-gatheres have been sustainable using resources within well-defined territories.

[4] Definition of 'rootedness' offered by Cuthbertson et al.(1997) is; living for a significant amount of time, described in years, in a physically bounded locale and in touch with the cultural geography associated with the locale.

[5] Horwood (1991) proposes five principles of educational programmes when Deep Ecology is adopted in experiential education: place, wholeness, identity, integrity and wildness. Whatever the purposes of the programmes, he argues, participants should

know about the place, such as inhabitants of the place, history of formation, food, water and so on, which inform them about what opportunities the place affords. Such knowledge of "affordances" of place is gained by interactions with the environment (LaChapelle, 1991, p. 21), and would promote feelings of belonging to the place so that participants learn to live and work harmoniously in the place (Horwood, 1991).

[6] Pratt et al. (2000) consider that Deep Ecology is founded on the notions of the Romantic Movement dating from the end of the 18th century which emerged as a critique of the world shaped by the Enlightenment. Underlying elements of Romanticism were "nostalgic remembrances of other times when human life was bonded more closely to nature" (Oelschlaeger, 1991, p. 110) and a long tradition of mystical thought linked to Christianity (Nash, 2001; Pratt et al., 2000) . The mystical experience within the Christian tradition was described as involving a feeling of awe, of energy or urgency, and where distinction between the individual and nature is lost (Pratt et al., 2000). This notion of loss of personal identity and the identification of the self with nature as a whole is close to ideas of contemporary environmental thinkers including Deep Ecologists.

[7] The term was first coined in 1974 by Western environmentalists in the World Council of Churches to counter criticism by the developing nations that concern for the environment was a barrier to progress for the poor (Dresner, 1996). The term was then promoted in the international environmental and development communities with the 1980 publication of the *World Conservation Strategy.* It came to fame with the publication of *Our Common Future* (1989) by the United Nations' (UN) World Commission on Environment and Development. Following the report, the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in 1992, known as the Earth Summit or the Rio Summit, proposed SD as a new approach to reconcile economic development and environmental protection (Escobar, 1995; Sachs, 1999).

[8] Among many definitions of SD, the two most widely used ones are in *Our Common Future* (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987) and in *Caring for the Earth* (IUCN, UNEP, & WWF, 1991). The former states that SD is "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p. 43), and the latter defines SD as "improving the quality of human life while living within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems" (IUCN et al., 1991, p. 211). These definitions seem easy to understand, but its generality has been both criticised and acknowledged. They also send clear signals of human focus.

[9] This technocentrism is the 'authorised view' in *Our Common Future*, which states "the accumulation of knowledge and the development of technology can enhance the carrying capacity of the resource base" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p. 45).

[10] Often the concept is associated with resource management or conservation, or 'growth with equity', which is criticised as 'a limited goal' and an "instrumental view of conservation and development" (Engel, 1990, p. 10). Wilbanks (1994) states that SD is not a concept but "more of a slogan (however oxymoronic) that has taken on a life of its own" (p.541). Dresner (1996, p. 3) points out its paradox to retain modernity's optimism about the rational control of society while based on criticism of modernity's approach to nature. However the Dutch sociologists Spaargaren and

Mol (1992) refute the critics of modernisation and appeal that SD "indicates the possibility of overcoming the environmental crisis without leaving the path of modernization" (p. 334). Of course this is the very point that environmentalists challenge. O'Riordan (1988) and Lélé (1991) consider the term SD ultimately prioritises development and further discriminate against the poor under present political and economic systems. Along the same line, Shiva states the concept is based on a false interpretation of sustainability, ignoring the social aspects of human development (Shiva, 1992).

[11] Dresner (1996) asserts that it is "politically important for many people to avoid making a distinction" between sustainability and SD, and further states that making a distinction "drives a wedge into the consensus that formed the basis of the Brundtland Report and now Agenda 21 around the mutual need for environmental projection and Third World development" (p. 105).

[12] EE's primary goal is often described as promoting people's pro-environmental behaviours (Cooper, 1994; Fien, 1993a; Fien, Robottom, Gough, & Spork, 1993; Grundy & Simpkin, 2001; Metzger & McEwen, 1999; National Curriculum Council, 1990; Scottish Office Education Department, 1993a; Zelezny, 1999) and thereby solving environmental problems (Hungerford & Volk, 1990; National Curriculum Council, 1990).

[13] Comparison of some descriptions of EE and EFS present similarities. For example, Palmer (1998) states that "EFS aims to help people understand the inter-dependence of life on Earth, the effects of actions and decision relating to resource use, and factors which foster or impede SD. It is concerned with developing people's awareness, values and attitudes, thus enabling them to be involved effectively in SD" (p. 30). Similarly, the five criteria for 'good practice in environmental youth work' of the Council for Environmental Education (Rogers, 1994) are: Illustrate the links between the local and the global environment; Make connections between social issues and the environment; Enable individuals to convert their environmental concern into action; Develop skills in changing things at a political, social and practical level; Enhance understanding of the ecological processes that sustain life and our own relationship to the environment. While these criteria are more explicit about active participation to tackle social and environmental issues, the essence overlaps with the Palmer's (1998) statement.

[14] It has to be noted that there is a hesitation among educators for usage of the terms. Jickling (1994) states that concepts such as *education* and *environmental education* are abstractions, and it is a mistake to think of concepts as objects or concrete entities.

[15] These models are devised based on rigorous discussion but they have to be treated carefully because 'mechanistic' and 'ecological education paradigm' shown in Figure 2.1 may give an impression of a clear dichotomy, and the 'shift' seems to occur from one to another. However, any education is not in isolation from its unique society, economy and policy at the time, and some elements suggested in the figure can be relevant to either side depending on the context.

[16] A number of authors support the same position by seeing scientific interpretations of the environment as "one form of truth" (Blaikie, 1995, p. 206) or "one way of representing reality" (Reiss, 2001, p. 5)

[17] 'Preservation' is a contested concept, and is defined as "keeping something in its

present state" (IUCN et al., 1991, p. 211). In the context of an environmental discussion, this position is interpreted as having a static comprehension of nature (Baldwin, De Luce, & Pletsch, 1994).

[18] Fien (1993a), on the other hand, argues that education 'for' the environment seeks to "engage students in the active resolution of environmental questions, issues and problems, involving a wide range of knowledge, skills, values and participation objectives" (p. 5). He replaces 'in' with 'through', and includes 'from' and 'with' in this same category with 'through', which results in 'through, about and for' the environment (Fien, 1993a).

[19] Jickling (1994; 1999) criticises the notion of education 'for' something, claiming that education is not an instrument to achieve predetermined goals.

# Chapter 3: Methodology

## A Research Approach

There is a widespread assumption in the social sciences that only quantified experimental data are valid (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Silverman, 2000). However, many social science researchers argue that the quantitative and qualitative approaches are not contradictory and can be applied to the same social research, depending on research aims and designs (Kirk & Miller, 1986; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Silverman, 2000, 2001). Nevertheless, qualitative and quantitative studies involve different approaches to inquiry and consequently the claims that can be made from the outcomes may differ.

Creswell (1992) covers widely accepted views concerning the distinct nature of qualitative and quantitative research. He states that a qualitative study is "an inquiry process of understanding a social or human problem, based on building a complex, holistic picture, formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants, and conducted in a natural setting" (Creswell, 1994, pp. 1-2). Quantitative study, on the other hand, is "an inquiry into a social or human problem, based on testing a theory composed of variables, measured with numbers, and analysed with statistical procedures, in order to determine whether the predictive generalisations of the theory hold true" (Creswell, 1994, p. 2).

While agreeing that quantitative and qualitative approaches may be complementary, I suggest that there are phenomena that cannot adequately be understood solely by experimentally and statistically based evidence (Creswell, 1994; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Silverman, 2000). As explained in Chapters 1 and 2, my primary interest in the present study was in the relationships between people and their environment. I chose to study educational programmes in various settings as tools to reveal core social and cultural values in relation to the environment. At the same time, I was interested in using the knowledge I acquired to understand the programmes in the context of education for sustainability. The research aimed to examine emerging issues carefully in a holistic way in order to work with inherent complexity. In this respect, adopting a qualitative approach for this study provided the possibility of an in-depth study to explore meaning of individuals' experiences, and at the same time allow sensitivity to cultural and social contexts (Creswell, 1994; Silverman, 2000). Moreover, where appropriate I used quantitative data in a supplementary way, especially to describe the background and social conditions of the populations.

The following research questions guided my exploration:

Main research question:

**What is the nature of the relationships with the environment expressed through educational outdoor programmes in various settings?**

Subsidiary questions:

1. What efforts are made to 'connect people with the environment' in various cultural settings?
2. What are the rationales of the programmes?
3. What was the motivation for young people to participate in the programmes, and how are the experiences perceived by the participants?
4. What are participants' perceptions of and relationships with the environment?
5. How do the community and family members see the programmes?
6. What can be claimed from individual case analyses?
7. What can be claimed by contrasting the case studies?
8. What are the implications for education for sustainability?

## Research Perspectives

My ontological assumption is that there is no universal truth and no objective and singular reality to be discovered, but rather that participants in a study construct diverse social and cultural realities. Their knowledge of the world is transactional, producing different understandings, values and knowledge which are primarily constructed through interactions with place and people.

My intention through this study was to explore the complexity of issues around outdoor educational programmes in terms of people's relationships with their

environment, and to understand the social and cultural aspects of these issues. For this purpose I adopted an ethnographical perspective. Ethnography can be defined as "an in-depth analytical description of an intact cultural scene" (Borg & Gall, 1989, p. 387) that claims to "represent a uniquely humanistic, interpretive approach" (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994, p. 249). While ethnography has gained popularity in social science fields in recent years, the term has been contested (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Tobin, 1999; Wallace, Rudduck, Flutter, & Harris, 1998). Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) suggest that, depending on the researcher's position, ethnography ranges from a philosophical paradigm to a method in the field. One of the criticisms levelled at educational researchers is the use of ethnographic tools without understanding the values that anthropologists consider essential to ethnography (Tobin, 1999). The elements of such a value system include phenomenology, holism, non-judgmental orientation and contextualisation (Borg & Gall, 1989; Tobin, 1999), all of which influence my research perspective. Concerning the nature of ethnography, Tobin (1999) and Burawoy (1991a) are emphatic that ethnography tries to make the strange familiar and to "defamiliarise some of the taken-for-granted assumptions" (Tobin, 1999, p. 124) by uncovering the tacit understandings that underlie everyday activities. This is the task I had in my mind during data gathering and the process I was engaged in throughout my research.

## Methods and Related Issues

### Criticisms of and General Argument about Qualitative Research

There are long-standing criticisms of qualitative research approaches. One of these is the issue of consistency in data collection and interpretation by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions (Thomas & Nelson, 1996). It is argued that data interpretation and analysis in qualitative research is subjective and therefore not reliable. Similarly, other researchers cannot practically test observational data to check the consistency.

Some aspects of the criticism cannot be denied. For example, in social studies no observations or interpretations are perfectly repeatable (Stake, 1994) as they are context dependent and the researchers themselves are part of the context. As individuals have different moods each morning, and as we change the context of our conversation depending on who we talk to or who is around us, it is fair to say that, in a strict sense, the outcome of studies by different researchers or by the same observer on different occasions may not be equivalent. Each observer influences the situation differently, and the 'reality' they construct through observation is biased by his or her particular background and attributes, therefore the findings could be 'another reality'. Nevertheless, I argue that a lack of perfect repeatability does not devalue the outcome of qualitative research as a whole. It is important for a writer to submit as much detail and evidence as possible regarding the context and the

research procedure, and to maintain consistency in categorisation. Readers can then judge the dependability of the work and whether or not it is convincing. Moreover, especially in ethnographic works, the researcher's own viewpoint and analysis is considered important, provided it is based on robust analysis and wider discussions, including the participants in the research (Lincoln, 2001; McNiff, 1988; Reason & Bradbury, 2001; Tobin, 1999). Above all, subjectivity is not a unique feature of a qualitative approach, as the interpretation of quantitative data will also necessarily be subjective to some extent (Silverman 2000).

The second criticism of qualitative research is linked with the way in which the research outcome is expressed. Qualitative research is often descriptive, just "telling *examples* of some apparent phenomenon, without any attempt to analyse less clear data" (Silverman, 2000, p. 10). This is a problem of 'validity', which is framed as "another word for truth" (Silverman, 2000, p. 175). Researchers employ various procedures, including combining different ways of data gathering, in an attempt to respond to this criticism and to reduce the likelihood of misinterpretation. This process is called triangulation, about which much has been written (Creswell, 1994; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Silverman, 2000; Thomas & Nelson, 1996). However, some limitations of triangulation are also highlighted: in order to reach its pre-assumed 'reality' particular methods tend to be employed (Silverman 2000). Miles & Huberman (1994) argue that combining various methods may not attain

validity because different data collection methods often reveal different facets of the same phenomenon.

Having declared the limitations of triangulation, Silverman (2000) suggests "the refutability principle" (p. 178) wherein the researcher seeks to refute initial assumptions and assumed relations between the phenomena. This is a basic position for a researcher to keep in mind, and matches with McNiff's (1988) concept of 'self validation', though this does not guarantee any 'objective' knowledge as a result. In addition to 'self validation', McNiff (1988) suggests 'peer validation' and 'learner validation.' Though she describes the methods in the context of action research in education, which involves active participation of teachers and students in the study process, the principle can be adopted in other studies.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that the criteria on which the criticisms of qualitative research are based belong to conventional inquiries that are ontologically and epistemologically irrelevant. They ask, "when reality is assumed to be multiple and intangible, what does the conventional internal validity mean where the study results are isomorphic with the reality they propose to describe?" (p. 218). They propose to replace the conventional criteria, on which the trustworthiness of research is judged, with new formulations that have a better fit with non-positivistic naturalistic inquiry. They use 'credibility' and 'transferability' instead of 'internal validity' and 'external validity'. They suggest that prolonged engagement with the subject and

persistent observation increase credibility. Moreover, they favour triangulation and member checks, where the 'researchees' are brought in to check the investigation process. They also suggest 'thick description', an interpretation from the insider's perspective (Geertz, 1993), to facilitate transferability by providing essential information about the context studied. This information is to allow readers to contemplate whether or not transfer is possible rather than to establish transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) . All suggestions concerning ways to ensure validity in qualitative research seem to have weaknesses, nonetheless adoption of each tactic is important in the attempt to increase validity.

I hope to demonstrate throughout this thesis that I took all possible measures to facilitate trustworthiness and validity. I employed multiple methods for my research and maintained on-going triangulation. I communicated with key informants in each study group throughout my research, verifying questions and claims. Shortly after the main data collection phase I compiled a summary report for each group, including findings and discussions so that they could express any thoughts that arose at this early stage of analysis. This not only addressed the validity issue, but also contributed to the quality of research as further information from the informants and further discussion with them enriched the contents.

## Case Study Approach

According to Stake (1994), "Case study is not a methodological choice, but a choice of object to be studied" (p. 236). This perspective allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life processes (Stake, 1995; Yin, 1984). In fact, ethnography, case study and participant observation are often treated as inseparable (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Borg & Gall, 1989; Burawoy, 1991b). I chose case study groups under specific criteria and the selection process is explained in the following chapter.

## Generalisability and Representativeness

Generalisability and representativeness are often issues in qualitative research, though many authors seem to agree that the latter is not considered mandatory. For example, one goal of a case study is to understand the case's complexity and particularity (Stake, 1995), and the case is not necessarily selected from a representative perspective. Moreover, the sampling procedure and small sample size are often not adequate to consider the representativeness (Sarantakos, 1994; Silverman, 2000), even if they are appropriate for the purpose of the research. Generalisability, on the other hand, is much contested. Stake (1994) and Silverman (2000) consider that generalisability is not an issue as long as the research is purely descriptive; Lincoln and Guba (1985, 1994) argue that generalisations are impossible since phenomena are neither time nor context independent. On the other hand,

authors such as Mason (1996) argue that it is not enough for qualitative research to produce an explanation which is only narrowly applicable.

Stake (1994, 1995) identifies three types of case study, which relate to research purposes. These are defined as:

- *intrinsic*, where a researcher has an interest in the case itself, rather than learning about a general problem;
- *instrumental*, where the case is used to gain understanding beyond the particular case; and
- *collective*, where a group of cases are studied "in order to inquire into the phenomenon, population, or general condition" (Stake, 1994, p. 237).

Stake then argues that many social scientists tend to treat studies seeking to obtain generalisations as more important than intrinsic case studies, but generalisation should not be emphasised in all research because a strong focus on generalisation may distract researchers' attention away from features which are important in understanding the case itself. He suggests "petite generalisations" as generalisations about a case or a few cases in a particular situation (p. 7 & 20). This is a position widely supported in principle by other researchers including Miles and Huberman (1994) and Merriam (1998). Stake (1995) further proposes the concept of "naturalistic generalisation" (p. 85-88), in which readers realise similarities of issues based on their experiences, and argues that case studies are a means to provide such generalisations. Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 120) state that 'naturalistic

generalisation' is "more intuitive, empirical, based on personal direct and vicarious experience" in contrast with rationalistic, propositional, and law-like generalisation. They assert that case studies are 'a powerful means' of building 'naturalistic generalisations', which are useful extensions of their understanding (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

From a different perspective, Bryman (1988) and Mason (1996) claim that the generalisability of cases is in relation to theoretical propositions rather than to populations or the whole 'universe'. This is similar to, but wider than, what Stake describes as "petite generalisations", and also matches with how Silverman (2000) suggests attaining generalisability in qualitative research. Silverman discusses theoretical sampling and purposive sampling in order to address the generalisability issue. These methods of sampling are not aimed at generalising about whole populations but rather about certain populations that are chosen for the researcher's purpose and theoretical propositions. Generalisation through grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), the interpretive case method and the extensive case method (Burawoy, 1991a) all seem to operate under this framework. Though Burawoy (1991a) suggests that generalisations across different social situations are possible by looking for what they have in common, the social situations he refers to still have certain boundaries.

I suggest that while qualitative research may not produce generalisations in the traditional positivistic sense, those for purposely framed populations and situations as discussed above are possible. While a number of researchers try to go beyond limited generalisability, I argue, following Stake (1994), that generalisations do not have to be an ultimate goal of all studies. There are situations where focused qualitative research has an advantage in understanding a phenomenon. Consequently, it contributes valuable knowledge to a certain community that shares the same interest. I accept the importance and value of generalisability, but at the same time I acknowledge the importance of particularity. The goal and purpose of the study, as well as the interests of the researcher, must guide the extent to which the study addresses generalisability.

My research is a multi-case study, and has the appearance of a "collective case study" within Stake's (1994, p. 237) typology. However, there are two relevant questions. One is whether generalisation was pursued as Stake (1994) implies within the framework of a 'collective case study', and the other is whether or not these case studies were regarded as comparisons. Concerning generalisation, my goal was not to understand universal issues around the educational programmes across various cultures, but to understand each single case in order to present the diversity among the programmes under their common goals. Therefore, Stake's (1994) definition of 'collective case study' does not fit my study. The cases I selected were different from each other in terms of geographical setting, organised

framework, ethnicity of the participants, and approach taken. They did not represent other educational programmes but were selected on the basis of a certain theoretical framework. From that perspective they had facets in common, thus following Burawoy's (1991a) stance that it is possible to seek generalisation within certain boundaries.

Stake states that because an emphasis on comparison adheres to "a conceptual mechanism, fixing attention upon the few attributes being compared and obscuring other knowledge about the case" (Stake, 1994, p. 242), it obscures the possibility of learning about and from the particular case. Unless it is intentional, this is an inherent risk when one seeks commonalities among different cases (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000; Burawoy, 1991a). My study was not a comparison in a traditional sense such as that of Durkheim (1938), who positioned a comparison in a causal social study, and excluded groups with different variables as incomparable. On the other hand, Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggest that in principle any groups can be compared because in theory all cases have similarities and differences. I would not suggest that my study groups were just 'any groups'. They were selected on the basis of a theoretical framework under common criteria which suggested good grounds for comparison. Within the same framework, groups naturally have elements which can be compared; for example, cultural norms in relation to the environment. Therefore, my study groups could be compared and contrasted in a

much broader sense. They served as a 'sounding board' to each other in reflexive interpretation (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000).

Comparison is imperative to our intellectual activities. Phillips (1999), states that comparing is "a fundamental part of the thought processes which enables us to make sense of the world and our experience of it" (p. 15). In fact, whenever we find something interesting, strange, or important, we are implicitly comparing it against our previous experiences and understanding of the world. In our daily lives many judgements are based on comparisons, and this is my epistemological position; we come to know the world through implicit comparisons. When, for example, researchers identify issues to study, they often go through a comparison process in order to determine relative importance.

The purpose of comparison is not always to find the cause and effect, but also to understand something better by placing it in a certain context. I needed to have one broad cultural group in order to understand another. To be more explicit and for the reasons I outlined in Chapter 1, my thesis is positioned in the context of one large cultural site, the UK. However, I am foreign to this cultural group. Coming from a Japanese background, my assumptions are certainly different from those of British researchers. For example, in discussing outdoor programmes, my colleagues in Scotland, who had considerable expertise in the field of outdoor education, said it was unthinkable to include killing a chicken or a pig for food in an educational

programme in the UK[1]. In contrast, though killing animals as part of the programme is certainly not common practice, it is an acceptable action in Japanese society, particularly in an educational context. Educators and practitioners in Japan believe that, as people are increasingly detached from such experiences, this may assist programme participants in realising what is involved in sustaining human life. I would not have known how such an action (i.e. to take an animal's life during an educational programme) would be viewed in the UK context in general unless I was informed by the British researchers. At the same time, I thought it was an interesting insight into people's attitudes towards animals in the UK[2]. Thus it was important to establish the UK context both in understanding the non-UK groups, and in being clear about findings contrasting each broad cultural group.

For the same reason, the use of non-UK sites was intended to aid my understanding of the UK cases at a deeper level. The intention in selecting UK and non-UK groups was to gain knowledge of each perspective. As a person from Asia, I could subject these two very broad cultural groups to the same level of examination. In anthropological works, 'going native' is something researchers try to avoid, and in this sense my position was detached from both groups and allowed me to take a 'naive' view of both. I consider this perspective a strength in that it contributes to the uniqueness of an ethnographic thesis about groups in the UK and indigenous peoples in North America. By designing my research in this manner, I hoped that readers who are familiar with the UK context would not only learn from the non-UK

study groups but also discover something more about the UK situations examined from an outsider's viewpoint. Needless to say it should also enable readers who are not familiar with the UK context to learn about it.

## Observations, Interviews, and Questionnaires

### *Multiple Methods*

As mentioned earlier, though triangulation has weaknesses (Silverman, 2000), a number of researchers suggest that the employment of multiple methods to gather data is valuable and is a natural process in social research (Burawoy, 1991b; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Sarantakos, 1994; Thomas & Nelson, 1996). Of course each method has strengths and weaknesses and a researcher needs to be aware of this in interpreting and when constructing the 'whole' picture. Because of the complex nature of my research, one particular method could not be applied universally and so I combined several methods. This approach helped me to clarify and understand the findings (Stake, 1944). Moreover, it allowed me to access richer and multi-layered sources of information, which helped me understand the situation holistically.

### *Participant Observation*

My inquiry stretched across different worldviews, and my interest involved non-verbalised aspects of experiences as well as cultural and social perspectives. An inquiry of this nature places importance on observation which explores sometimes covert issues. Eisner (1991) states that qualitative inquiry infuses the ordinary

events of daily life. He suggests that "to *see* what we watch, we need to be able to attend to the implicit cues" (Eisner, 1991, p. 23). In order to understand a society, I tried to get below what I could see and to interpret what was not explicit, which is known as 'thick description' (Geertz, 1993). My effort to develop 'thick description' had begun long before the actual data-gathering trips I made to each site. Preliminary visits to explain the research project and correspondence through the Internet and by telephone were all important parts of understanding the cases and developing trust, essential for my work.

Participant observation or participatory observation is a method of data collection which falls within an interpretive tradition of research. By 'indwelling' and entering the lives of others or a particular situation, participant observers attempt to understand the phenomena in the actors' own terms. This method requires "listening hard and keenly observing what is going on among people in a given situation" (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994, p. 64). Participant observation does not usually stand alone. Because initial findings guide subsequent observations it is simultaneously combined with interviewing, document analysis, and on-going interview data analysis on site. I used this method during the educational programmes and throughout the period I was in the field. Daily observation was also critical in understanding people's ways of life and placed the knowledge gained into context. Though I could not live with the participants of the UK groups in their daily environment, multiple visits to the programmes, visiting their homes and

spending time with them over a long period of time (up to eight months) contributed to my understanding of their life.

This addresses another critical issue concerning building relationships, particularly with young people; the inherent power relations between adult researchers and young research participants and their influence on research outcomes (Alderson, 1995; France, Bendelow, & Williams, 2000; Mayall, 2000). In order that young participants (and adults) in the study would cooperate and feel free to talk with me, it was essential to establish trust. To gain a 'non-threatening identity' (France et al., 2000) in working with young people, I offered talks in their school classes and made myself available for socialising, in addition to working together during the programmes. However, my success in breaking down the barriers of being a stranger and an adult varied depending on individuals and situations.

*Interviews*

As mentioned above, my task involved trying to 'see' what was not explicit and to 'hear' what was unsaid. Nonetheless, hearing people's accounts directly was an essential part of this research. Interview data were the primary means to access how people perceived their world and reality. As stated earlier in this chapter, the goal of this project was to understand core values in relation to the environment through exploring educational programmes. The data from organisers provided

important information about the rationale of the programmes, how they viewed their society and the values they wanted to pass on.

However, from a holistic point of view this was not enough. Burns (2000) stresses the importance of the consideration of the wider context in which a research interest lies. Using the example of a study on a classroom, he says "Ethnography accepts that human behavior occurs within a context. A classroom never stands in isolation from larger cultural and social landscapes, such as local and national, political or economic processes and values" (Burns, 2000, p. 394). The same is true of an educational programme. At the same time, I used the programmes to see the wider culture and society. In this respect, the study took into account a wide range of aspects including young people (the focus of the programme), other community members, community life, the politics and economy of the society, geography, climate, history and so on. In addition to organisers, I interviewed the programme participants, their parents or guardians, involved community members, and other informants. During data gathering, I also attempted to have informal interviews and talks with numerous non-involved community members. Though this was limited due to the time constraints, these accounts helped me widen my view of their societies and the programmes.

The study was not intended to assess the organisers' claims or evaluate the programmes. Nonetheless, learning about the participants' perceptions of their

experiences and the parents' views certainly contributed to viewing the programme from various perspectives. In interviewing various actors, my interest was not in whether or not the programme was 'working' but the extent to which the organisers' aims and assumptions regarding young people were 'shared' with the participants and their parents or guardians.

Christensen and James (2000a) state a principle of choosing research methods by saying that "the particular methods chosen for a piece of research should be appropriate for the people involved in the study, its social and cultural context and the kinds of research questions that have been posed" (p. 2). It is also important to consider the setting, people's capabilities to respond, and the most effective ways in which to put questions (Dockrell, Lewis, & Lindsay, 2000). Researchers who work with children have suggested points to be aware of. Because my work involved different cultures and worldviews, a number of these considerations were applied to my work concerning both young people and adults. For example, Dockrell et al. (2000) suggest that a child's understanding of particular terms may not match an adult's. The same advice can be relevant cross-culturally. While, for example, in the UK 'taking care of an animal' may mean to feed and cuddle a pet dog or cat, for an Inuk in Nunavut the same phrase may mean to keep on hunting caribou or other animals, while for Yup'ik in Alaska it may mean to skin the hunted animals and store the meat properly. Throughout my research I was working with worldviews which were not mine, and social and cultural contexts to which I was foreign. Naturally

interview questions needed to have flexibility to suit the specific contexts of different study groups.

Consequently, I employed semi-structured interviews with mostly open-ended questions. The interviews were guided by a set of categorised questions, but the way the questions were phrased was not identical for each individual, reflecting different cultural and social settings of the interviewees and their ability to respond. During fieldwork, the questions were continuously modified and new questions were added to reflect differences among groups. Examples of the guiding questions are included in Appendix 1b.

To assess factors that might have influenced any engagement in environmental programmes, I used a modified set of questions guided by Significant Life Experiences Research (SLE) (Chawla, 1998a, 1998b, 1999; Palmer et al., 1998; Sward, 1999). Questions borrowed from SLE research did not present any problems in interviewing young people in the UK, but it created awkwardness among Yup'ik and Inuit interviewees because the questions were not framed in a relevant manner to their daily life. These questions included;

- Please tell me outdoor/environmental activities you do in your leisure time.
- Are you a member of any environmental organisations?
- Is there anyone around you who is interested in the environment?

Another type of question which caused difficulties concerned the environmental concepts constructed by young people. Those included;

- Do you think humans and nature are separated or humans are part of nature?
- Do humans control nature or does nature control humans?

The cause of the difficulties is likely to be due to their relationships with the environment and their perceptions of it. A Yup'ik boy whose family acquires their food by hunting and gathering may not have understood what 'being interested in the environment' meant. In order to have an 'interest', an object needs to be perceived as separate from oneself without taking it for granted. Where the environment is a source of survival and integrated in people's daily lives, 'interest' may not describe the relationship for young people. It may be like a question such as; are you interested in the air? Moreover, children who have grown up in a village of 300 people relying on subsistence may not have heard the term 'environmental organisations'. They did not exist in their village when I visited. These questions may have been based on assumptions that did not reflect the interviewee's daily experiences.

Interviews with adults other than programme participants were conducted when appropriate in terms of level of trust, my knowledge of the situation being sufficient to create context specific questions, convenient timing, and an availability of a place for interviews. When it was not feasible for me to visit for face-to-face interviews,

a few were conducted by telephone. Interviews with the programme participants were carried out either at the end of the programmes or sometime after completion. When the programme continued over a long period, some were interviewed after participating in a few sessions. The longest period between a person completing a programme and the interview was two and half months. Leaving sufficient but standardised time after the programme for young people to reflect on their experiences was possible in some cases, but logistical reasons often dictated the interview timing. The details are reported in the respective chapters. Not leaving a standardised time after their experiences was not considered critical in light of my research design and purposes. Young people's perceptions towards the experiences are suggested to change over time (Hattie, Marsh, Neill, & Richards, 1997; Knapp & Poff, 2001), but a recommendation for leaving sufficient time does not discredit immediate responses. In the present study, in addition to the participants' perceptions, other elements are also used to take a holistic view. Moreover, this study does not directly compare the participants' perceptions towards their experiences across different groups.

When possible, the interviews were recorded on either magnetic tape or digital disc. If recording was not feasible, notes were taken during interviews and fully transcribed as soon as possible afterwards. The numbers of interviewees are summarised in Table 3.1. Besides semi-structured interviews, I also took opportunities for informal conversation during the programmes and daily life.

Outside semi-formal interviews, when participants may be more self-conscious, important comments often came up during conversation over coffee or when walking up a hill together. Such conversations were not usually recorded at the time because switching on a recorder or taking notes would disrupt the flow. In such a case, I wrote up notes from memory shortly after these occasions. Having previously trained and worked as a newspaper reporter, this was not a novel situation for me.

Table 3.1 Numbers of interviewees directly linked with the programmes

| **Programme name** | **Participants (age)** | **Parents** | **Instructors / leaders** | **Involved community members** | **Organisers / spokesperson** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Paariaqtuqtut** | 5 (18-31) | 1 | 3 (Elders) | 6 | 2 (including 1 instructor) |
| **Russian Mission School** | 11 (12-19) | 7 | 3 (1 organiser) | 3 (2 from other villages) | 1 (also served as instructor) |
| **The Academy of Elders / Science Camp** | 9 (9-14) | 7 (1 phone) | 0 | 2 Elders<br>1 camp scientist | 1 |
| **Kintail Trailblazer** | 8 (16-17) | 5 (all phone) | 1 | 0 | 1 (instructor) |
| **Green Team** | 5 (13-16) | 4 (1 phone) | 2 | 0 | 1 |
| **John Muir Award (JMA) Gullane** | 2 (15) | 0 | 1 (also JMA spokesperson) | 0 | 1 (instructor) |
| **JMA Tranent** | 4 (12-13) | 4 | 1 | 0 | 1 (instructor) |
| **Total number** (Grand total 98) | **44** | **28** | **11** | **12** | **8** (5 were also instructors) |

Before the interviews took place, respondents were asked some basic questions in writing regarding their 'environmental concepts'. These questions were guided by Peter Kahn's environmental ethics research (Kahn, 1999); the subsequent interviews included an opportunity for respondents to elaborate on what they wrote down. It

was also an opportunity for me to clarify meanings; in some cases I discovered that the respondents wrote frivolous answers just to get the questions answered. During the interviews respondents sometimes decided to change what they had written initially. The questionnaires became tools for the respondents and myself to communicate and understand each other. The questionnaires are included in Appendix 1c.

Before the programmes started, programme leaders explained my presence at the sites to the participants. I emphasised that their cooperation was voluntary and made sure that each individual was happy to be involved in the study by directly asking them if s/he agreed to be interviewed. Young people were often very cooperative. In all, three people did not reply to either my letter asking for interviews or the organiser's telephone calls, and only one person who was directly approached declined to be interviewed. Whether young people looked comfortable during the interviews and to what extent they expressed themselves freely was not necessarily related to their willingness to participate. For example, many Yup'ik children were happy to be interviewed but tended to speak little. In the following chapters I describe how in such cases different methods were combined. For the children in the UK groups, written consent from guardians was obtained prior to interviews (Appendix 1a). The parent of one child, who had agreed to participate, failed to consent and as a result the child was not interviewed. Two parents consented for their children to be interviewed, but did not agree to give interviews

themselves. As for non-UK groups, I discussed with the organisers the procedures for involving children in the study and receiving the guardians' consent. Each organiser had various ways of making sure the involvement was ethically correct, and I followed their guidance.

*Other Documents*

When they were relevant to the inquiry, products created by the programme participants were collected. These included photographs taken by students during programmes, drawings, writings, and email messages. For example, the John Muir Award (JMA) Tranent Group wrote poems and short stories about their activities and what happened during their experiences to share with other people in town. In the case of the Russian Mission School, students were handed the school's digital camera to record their experiences outdoors. The photos taken by students were later downloaded into a computer server to which I had access. Besides the material programme participants produced, other literature, newspaper articles, video footage of the events and administrative documents that were relevant to my interest were collected as background information. In addition, documents that the organisations could provide regarding their programmes were gathered. Finally, from time to time during the field visits I used a digital video camera and still photo cameras. I was aware of informed consent and image rights issues, and the camera use was limited to serve three specific purposes. First, when appropriate, I showed the photography to the interviewees to refresh their memories and to help them

elaborate on scenes shown in the photos (Dockrell et al., 2000). Secondly, the photos and video footage complemented my notes from the field in an illuminating way. Thirdly, they served as relational tools as I provided part of the documentation to stakeholders for their own use. I made a conscious effort to give back what I could to the people, organisations and communities who generously assisted me. While this helped build mutual trust, it is also inherently fair in human relations, and counters the criticism that researchers are 'takers'.

## Analysis of Data

Miles (1979) stated that methods of analysis of qualitative data were "not well formulated" (p. 591). Fifteen years later, although he and Huberman describe the expansion of qualitative inquiry since the 1980s as 'phenomenal', they admit that "the problem of confidence in findings has not gone away" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 2). Merriam (1998) describes analysis as a highly intuitive process, and asserts that "a researcher cannot always explain where an insight came from or how relationships among data were detected" (p. 156). While investigating various suggestions regarding methods of analysis, particularly for case studies and ethnographic works, I have discovered that recent authors consistently suggest similar principles. For Miles and Huberman (1994), analysis is a continuous and iterative process. It has the three-fold structure of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification, which are "interwoven before, during, and after

data collection in parallel form" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 2). This is based on the same principle of 'constant comparative method' as suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and reinforced by other researchers (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000; Burns, 2000; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1998; Silverman, 2000; Stake, 1995). The method can be applied across different data sets or among the same data sets in different levels. Lincoln and Guba (1985) say that data analysis is a process for "making sense of field data" (p. 202). They expect themes to emerge from the data, thus data must be analysed inductively, aiming at uncovering embedded information and making it explicit. Starting the analysis with a small set of data would lead to modification of interview questions for the following study group, as part of a cyclical and reflexive process (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Silverman, 2000).

In my study, all 98 semi-structured interviews were either transcribed from recordings or expanded from notes soon after the interviews were completed. Any other recorded talks and interviews with local community members and informants were also transcribed. There is one recording of a lecture by a Yup'ik educator that I did not fully transcribe. However, I listened to the recording repeatedly and expanded the notes I took during the lecture. In addition to records of conversations, observations, fieldnotes and reflective memos were combined into field journals. This method of data treatment was a basic and important requirement to conduct

'thick description' and provide readers with vicarious experience (Merriam, 1998; Patton, 2002).

Concerning the analysis approach, I combined both a 'realist' and 'narrative' approach as Silverman (2000) suggests. The realist approach treats respondents' answers as perceived 'facts', describing external reality or internal experience, whereas the narrative approach treats interview data as "accessing various stories or narratives through which people describe their world" (Silverman, 2000, p. 122). In other words, the narrative approach does not simply take what is said on face value, but attempts to understand what it means in a particular context and generate 'narrated' reality. Anthropologists call this the 'social meaning' of narrative in which "the social, affective or moral value a narrative may have is a less obvious aspect" (Cortazzi, 1993, p. 101). In exploring the respondents' words, which were embedded in different worldviews and life experiences, I found the concept of the narrative approach inevitable. The emphasis was on the narratives' relationship to the social and cultural context (Cortazzi, 1993; Merriam, 1998).

My epistemological position clearly differs from phenomenological analysis, which proposes that researchers remove prejudices and personal viewpoint in order to see the experience for itself. On the contrary, I take a view that researchers unavoidably influence the experiences and accounts of interviewees. They may be aware of their prejudices to some degree, but all data collection is inescapably a

selective process (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Intuition, which is part of qualitative analysis, stems from a personal viewpoint. Thus I doubt anyone could see the experience for itself without involving their personal viewpoint. Subjectivity is not only inescapable but may make a unique contribution, as long as the researcher's ontology and epistemology is clear and research procedures are adequately included to allow readers to gauge the level of bias and accuracy. I cannot eliminate my biases completely, but I can limit them by constantly confronting my own opinions of the data and making them explicit to readers.

I took the approach that themes and categories would emerge from data rather than going into the field with pre-defined concepts and categories. Nevertheless, the research questions provided a basic boundary, and my guidelines for interview questions directed responses, though they remained flexible and emergent. I conducted an initial analysis with a small data set from the JMA Gullane Group in November 2001, hand-coding with markers. It gave me a working set of categories, but with only two interviews the data were modest, and as research progressed, naturally I built on these results with other data. Observation of the JMA Tranent Group continued from November 2001 to February 2002. The interviews with the participants, the parents and the organiser were completed towards the end of February. Having had these interview experiences with 12-13 year olds of the JMA Tranent group, I went to Russian Mission, Alaska from 1 March to 3 April 2002, to Igloolik, Nunavut from 28 April to 27 May and then to Kodiak from 11 July to 8

August. Data collection of Kintail Trailblazer camp of National Trust for Scotland (NTS) was coducted between 17 and 24 August 2002. Observation of the Green Team (GT) had started in February and continued until September 2002. The interviews with five GT participants were completed in early October. By October 2002, I had worked with data from a land-skills training course in Igloolik, Nunavut, Russian Mission School programmes, the Science Camp in Kodiak, Alaska, and the Kintail Trailblazer camp, followed by data from the GT. While this was a busy field schedule, I was able to perform some on-going analysis during the field visits. Preliminary mid-term findings were complied in June 2002 for further assessment and discussion with colleagues as part of an iterative process.

As my data was accumulating, I began to explore the possibility of using computer software for analysis in April 2002. Various programmes are available for qualitative analysis, but as a Mackintosh user my choice was limited and switching to a PC solely for analysis purposes was not feasible at this stage. I tested NUD*IST in October 2002 using my data, and decided to continue working with the package as I found it useful particularly for data management, including storage and retrieval. Qualitative research initially emerged as a response to the domination of research by quantitative methods and the perceived value of statistical work, and for many this is symbolised by computers. Many qualitative researchers remain sceptical about, and distanced from, computer-assisted analysis "because of feelings that it may impose an alien logic on their analytic procedures" (Silverman, 2000, p.

155). However, I found the computer-assisted method useful for two main reasons. First, it seemed to be more efficient to manage the nearly 900 pages of transcribed data from my study. Secondly, the coding and analysis was an iterative process and NUD*IST allowed multi-layered coding of the same data in a fairly manageable way. It also permitted a change of analysis approach later without erasing the earlier chain of reasoning. Consequently I used NUD*IST for data storage and initial analysis.

The drawback of using technology in general is the danger of losing control through mechanical malfunction and inflexibility. I encountered mechanical difficulty soon after I began using NUD*IST due to the software's incompatibility across different computer operating systems. NUD*IST was fully functional only with an English operating system, and not with a Japanese operating system that was mine. It was revealed through correspondence with the software developers in Australia that even they were not aware of this shortcoming. As a result, I needed to use two separate machines constantly, one for analysis and one for writing and taking notes from the analysis. Continually exchanging files between the two machines and restarting them repeatedly in order to switch the operating systems required patience and made data management more complicated and time consuming.

At the first stage of coding, I worked within each study group, concentrating on data from each of the subgroups before moving on to the next study group to do the same. For example, I investigated data from the organisers of the Russian Mission outdoor

programmes, then that from the parents and community members, and then the students before turning to the Science Camp in Kodiak where I again started with the organisers. Categories and subcategories were constructed through the constant comparative method described earlier.

Taking a realist approach to each data set, I first labelled words and phrases, and then categorised them. When the realist approach was unsatisfactory, I made notes and this led me to return to the data with a narrative approach. I was particularly alert to any sign which implied the person's relationship with the environment. When I was working with data from one field site and recognised commonly usable categories, I went back to the previous data sets to refine their coding. This continuous process allowed categories to emerge gradually and begin to be refined. It also involved going back to transcripts or sometimes to original recordings in order to verify working definitions or the need to refine them. Thus individual labels were created and wider category labels developed. It soon became clear that I could not apply exactly the same categories to both the UK and North American cases. Nevertheless, a set of labels was relatively similar amongst each broad cultural group at all levels (organisers, elders, young people and their parents).

Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that each unit of data for coding must be heuristic (it should present some discovery) and the smallest piece of information about something that can stand by itself (it must be interpretable only by itself). However,

I found it difficult to break down people's verbalisations into 'the smallest pieces', and label and categorise them. This was particularly so in the case of Igloolik elders and organisers. Their speech was seamlessly integrated and its meaning seemed to be multi-layered. In the coding process the context was often lost and even if I could label them, fragmented words and phrases sometimes became meaningless. In other words, important meanings and significant cultural values could not be understood when words were taken out of context. I could draw some sort of interpretation from each unit, but it seemed very superficial and remote from their world. While this was most notable with the Igloolik people, I found this to be the case to some extent for all study groups. Moreover, the paralinguistic features of their speech (the use of facial and body expressions) also needed to be considered in analysis (Merriam, 1998). Such cases demonstrate the advantage of combining narrative and realist approaches.

Once categories started to emerge after repeated refinement, the next stage was to consider the ways in which these categories related to each other. In an attempt to make sense of the interviewees' worlds, I drew concept maps using all categories and kept on revising them as other ideas sprung up. For Igloolik elders and organisers, once the fragmented units all came together the complex inseparability of all elements emerged as a whole, centred around the environment and their life.

In parallel with the within-case analysis, I began cross-case analysis. Miles and Huberman (1994) warn that this is difficult, arguing that "Simply summarising superficially across some themes or main variables by itself tells us little" (p. 205-206). They assert that "We have to look carefully at the complex configuration of processes within each case, understand the local dynamics, before we can begin to see patterning of variables that transcends particular cases" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 205-206). While in multiple case studies, researchers attempt to build a general explanation that fits each case (Yin, 1984), Stake (1995) reminds us that it is *the case* we are trying to understand. This research started with the aim of using one case in order to understand another and *vice versa.* Having taken the same approach to each study group, I naturally began to focus more on issues which had wider implications for the other cases. Due to the restriction on the size of the thesis, I generally focused on the meanings of people's relationships with their environment, which was the main aim of the project. I also highlighted emerging issues which could be examined across the cases. In addition, I attempted to describe particular issues which emerged from each case.

The following chapter explains how the selection procedures developed, and explains why determining the study groups took longer than initially anticipated. Reporting the selection procedures is beneficial not only to make research development visible, but also because important findings resulted from the selection process.

Notes:

[1] This may of course include respecting the belief systems of a potentially diverse range of participants (e.g. for some beliefs it would be morally wrong to kill an animal under any circumstances), but emotional reasons seem to play a significant role in ruling out the action.

[2] Japanese food habits may also have something to do with this attitude. A Japanese diet consists of wildlife and plants and, to a certain extent, is closer to original form of food source, i.e. raw fish, uncooked horse meat, wild birds, cooked insects, brackens, royal ferns, butterbur scapes and other harvested wild mountain vegetables.

# Chapter 4: Selecting Case Studies and Research Design

Having learnt that a body of literature exists concerning the importance of educational change in addressing people's relationships with the environment, I searched for educational programmes for this study both within and outside the UK. However, identification of the study groups was not straightforward and led to some important initial findings. This chapter explains the basis for the selection of cases and describes what was actually involved in the process, which partly determined the research design.

## Guiding Principles

Sampling is linked to the generalisability (potential to be generalised) of the study and the validity of its claims (Borg & Gall, 1989). I made the point earlier that qualitative research usually deals with defined populations and does not claim generalisations in the sense of Stake's (1994) "grand generalisation" (p. 7 & 20). Nonetheless, a proper selection is clearly vital to gain the best possible understandings of the phenomena being studied (Borg & Gall, 1989; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Silverman (2000) suggests that sampling in qualitative research should be theoretically grounded, serving a purpose and objective of the research. Thus 'theoretical' or 'purposive sampling' is proposed (Burns, 2000; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994; Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2000). Some authors distinguish 'theoretical sampling' from 'purposive sampling' by stating that the former is an ongoing selection process as data is collected and theories emerge, instead of selecting all samples in advance (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). However, the two sampling methods are often treated as synonymous (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Silverman, 2000).

Burns (2000) argues that sampling needs to be based on defining the criteria for a unit to be chosen as a case. Various authors (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994) suggest 'maximum variation' sampling to be one of the most useful strategies of purposive sampling. In order to understand the events, the method seeks samples that represent "the greatest differences in that phenomenon"

(Maykut & Morehouse, 1994, pp. 56-57). Stake's (1994) guiding principle is "balance and variety" (p. 244), and the primary criterion is a case or a sample which offers the "opportunity to learn" most (p. 244).

Various ways to build up samples within purposive sampling have been suggested (Burns, 2000; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994; Sarantakos, 1994; Silverman, 2000). Maykut and Morehouse (1994) advise 'snowball sampling' or 'networking', where one research participant refers to another, to achieve maximum variation. It is apparent that with this approach a researcher actively needs to communicate with participants regarding what is being looked for. 'Reputational' sampling is similar but is distinguished by Burns (2000) as a method where a sample is chosen on the recommendation of experts or through acknowledgement by the media. In searching for my study group, guided by a theoretical sampling approach, I kept in mind the need of 'balance and variety' within 'maximum variation'.

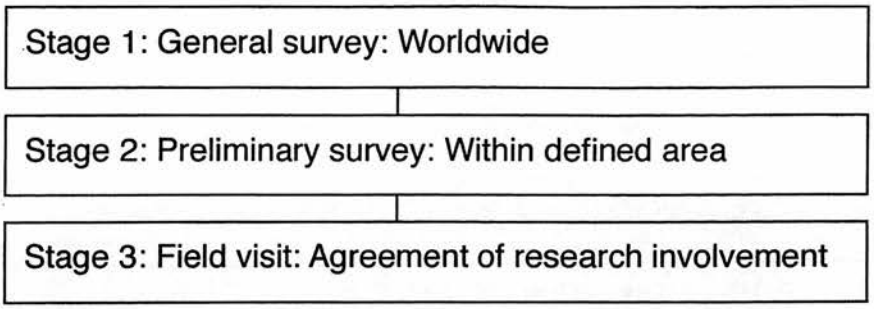
## Selection Procedures

Selecting cases both inside and outside the UK took place simultaneously in an interlinked manner. All the cases which came to my attention were initially considered for this study. The procedures took a long time and the final case was arranged 21 months after I launched the project. It was partly because the process was reflexive and emergent, and also because new phases and unexpected situations arose at each stage. The sampling procedures led me to important findings and clearly constituted part of the outcomes of the research. To clarify this complex situation, the selection of cases within the UK and those outside the UK are explained separately.

### Indigenous People's Programmes Outside the UK

Burns (2000) describes the general design of a case study as a "funnel" (p. 464), having the wide end at the start of the study. Initially the research involves "trawling around, scouting for possible places and people who might be the subject or source of data, looking for clues on how to start, and the feasibility of it all" (Burns, 2000, p. 464). This is the simplest way to describe my initial phase. Figure 4.1 represents the original design I had planned in order to select cases among indigenous populations outside the UK. The initial goal was to identify two different groups to attain 'maximum variation', as advised by Maykut and Morehouse (1994).

Figure 4.1 Initial plan of selecting cases outside the UK




*Stage 1: A General Survey and Outcome*

In October and November 2000, I conducted a general survey to gather information covering a number of nations and areas. The purpose of this was to assess the extent of educational programmes among 'indigenous populations'[1] which addressed the connection between people and the environment. An Internet search was also conducted. Moreover, I used 'snowball' and 'reputational' sampling techniques, starting from key individuals in education fields including outdoor education and cross-cultural education. These figures were identified by literature surveys, the Internet surveys, and through my personal network of people who were concerned with indigenous peoples' issues. I asked them if they knew of any educational programmes among indigenous peoples around the world which tried 'to connect participants with their environment'. I did not define the meaning of 'connection' as I was also interested in finding out the diversity of its meanings.

Within the first two months, this general survey indicated three points which were helpful in determining the way the research would move forward. First, North

America seemed to offer the most readily available information for educational programmes. Secondly I discovered that among indigenous peoples, efforts to enhance people's connection with the environment were not necessarily new. For example, the Cultural Heritage and Education Institute (CHEI) in Alaska was established in 1984 by an Athabascan person to "share Athabascan cultural knowledge and skills, educate youth and adults on how to be sober productive participants in native Athabascan and non-native western cultures and restore the spiritual site of Old Minto and the history of a past village" (Cultural Heritage and Education Institute, n.d.-a). Annually they organise various 'culture camps' through which they aim to provide the opportunity to "connect with nature" while camping (Cultural Heritage and Education Institute, n.d.-b).

Another example of earlier efforts seems to be the Rediscovery Camp, which is now organised worldwide by the Rediscovery International Foundation. According to the organisation, the first Rediscovery Camp was held in British Columbia in 1978. They stress that the project is community-based, and claim that the programme design is based on recognition of diversity of culture and bio-regional elements among indigenous communities. Their vision and principles address the relationships between people and the land (Rediscovery International Foundation, n.d.). The trend to devise such programmes seemed to have increased in the 1990s. The Alaska Rural Systemic Initiative (AKRSI) was established in 1994. It is a large scale initiative backed by the Alaska Federation of Natives, the University of Alaska,

and the National Science Foundation to develop "pedagogical practices that appropriately integrate indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing into all aspects of education" (Barnhardt & Kawagley, n.d.). Associated with this initiative many educational projects have been generated which have addressed traditional knowledge and connection to the land, and several have been studied (Iskander, 1994; Schneider, 2000). A study concerning the contribution of a cultural approach to wilderness programmes in Hawaii has also been published (Meyer, 1994).

Thirdly, the general survey indicated that the projects appeared to be happening in various places including Hawaii, New Zealand and Australia, but the information did not provide enough of an overall picture to start a research project. This indicates that 'network' and 'reputational techniques' in selecting study groups are suitable when a certain research boundary or criterion is established in order for any recommendation to inform a selection. Otherwise those sampling techniques could be time-consuming.

From this general survey it seemed sensible and efficient to continue the selection process focusing on North America. This decision was reinforced by the perceived advantage that I had in having established good working relationships with a number of individuals in North America, some of whom are indigenous to relevant study locations. Moreover, through my previous experiences in living and travelling in

the Arctic (Chapter 1), I have acquired a certain degree of familiarity and general knowledge of the area and of various North American cultures.

*Stage 2: A Preliminary Survey in North America*

I initially planned to identify study group candidates at the second stage, and finalise them at the third stage by visiting them. However, this was more complicated than I first imagined. For the second stage I developed a questionnaire to inquire further about the programmes. It was a suitable method in order to gather workable information from a dispersed population (Burns, 2000). In order to overcome some weaknesses concerning the method (Burns, 2000; Wisker, 2001) and to be as culturally sensitive as possible, I asked the established researchers in education (including Professor Ray Barnhardt of University of Alaska Fairbanks whose expertise is in cross-cultural issues) to comment on the initial questionnaire and suggest modification. A website was developed to make responding at a distance more convenient. I had the same concern as Wisker (2001) that a researcher should not expect people to pay to return postal questionnaires (in this case at international rate) and I hoped that using a website would ease this concern.

I posted and emailed the revised questionnaires to a total of 72 organisations and individuals in the USA and Canada, some of whom were identified through the previous general survey at Stage 1, asking them to forward the questionnaires to relevant and interested parties. The questionnaires asked respondents to describe,

and provide more information about, any educational programmes conducted among indigenous peoples which aimed to enhance relationships between people and the natural environment. The questionnaires and cover letters are included as Appendix 1d. Professor Barnhardt advised that writing is not necessarily a form of expression to which some Alaska Natives[2] would respond well. This was an additional obstacle to the use of questionnaires particular to my research. Despite the difficulties, a total of 10 replies were received by March 2001. These initial replies provided me with enough findings to move on to the next stage.

*A Preliminary Survey: Outcomes*

Of the 10 responses, nine were from USA-based organisations and individuals, and one was from a group in Canada. They comprised two Alaska State governmental offices, three school districts, three non-profit organisations (NPOs), one school and one commercial organisation. Governmental departments and school districts suggested other programmes among their associates. Table 4.1 displays a typology of the organisers and styles of programme operation which the respondents indicated.

Table 4.1 Results of the preliminary survey in North America (Indicated programmes)

| Organisers / Programme settings | School n=1 | NPO n=3 | State Government office n=2 | School District n=3 | Company n=1 | Total n = 10 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Camp, independent programme | | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 8 |
| During class periods | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | | 6 |
| Part of curriculum, camp setting | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 5 |

*NPO: Non-Profit Organisation or charity organisation

Concerning the programme operation, eight programmes were independently organised, six were part of classes tied to the school curriculum and five were part of the school curriculum but using camp settings. The duration of projects varied from a single school class period to four weeks. Sometimes the programme had an annual cycle, conducting various activities at different times of the year.

The number of cultural groups involved varied and, depending on the projects, the age of participants ranged from infants to elders. Moreover, the target participants varied from young offenders to environmental technicians. The respondents' examples of their activities included testing water, hunting, interviewing elders, etc. Among issues the programmes covered, all parties highlighted 'environmental awareness', nine said 'transfer of local knowledge', and eight pointed to 'cultural identity' and 'transfer of certain values'. The survey results suggested a strong link between the environment, cultural identity, and knowledge and value transfer. This preliminary survey of Alaska and Canada revealed common concerns and a variety of attempts with different age groups to enhance a sense of connectedness to the natural world. Respondents were asked to indicate if they were aware of other programmes with similar goals. The results showed a systematic attempt in Alaska to enhance connection to the environment. The AKRSI was presented as a key player in the movement, being a major funder and a programme development partner.

This was a strong indication that further investigation of the organisation would be necessary.

In identifying groups I could work with, two were immediately ruled out because their questionnaire responses stated unwillingness to cooperate with further research. Apart from the two governmental offices which required further inquiry to identify the programme coordinators, I identified three groups as leads to possible study sites. I then started to correspond with these groups by email, fax and letter. The groups were:

- Cultural Heritage and Education Institute with Athabascan people, Alaska
- Lower Kuskokwim School District with Yup'ik people, Alaska
- Hooksum Outdoor School with Hesquiaht people from British Columbia, Canada.

I selected them on the basis of my study group criteria, which were that they:

1) provided educational programmes for young people,

2) focused on connection with the environment,

3) were based on the local natural environment, and

4) had community involvement and exhibited a sense of local programme ownership.

The fourth point was important as a way of distinguishing locally embedded programmes from imported packaged programmes which I assumed would be more

likely to operate within a Western framework based on non-indigenous worldviews. Lower Kuskokwim School District had expressed uncertainty in the questionnaire about cooperation with the research and, although in a three month period I sent the respondent two letters and two emails asking for a meeting, they did not reply before I made my first visit to Alaska in June. Consequently I did not pursue this group any further. As a result, I had one group in Alaska and one in British Columbia as possible study groups. Survey respondents also suggested other programmes that I could investigate further if necessary.

*Stage 3: Visiting North America*

I visited Alaska and British Columbia in June - July 2001 with three purposes in mind:

1) to establish the study sites,

2) to get a better understanding of the general situation concerning the educational programmes outdoors that were being organised by indigenous peoples, and

3) to gather background information regarding education and indigenous peoples in North America.

Professor Barnhardt suggested that I attended his summer course, titled *Education and Cultural Processes*, chiefly organised for educators in rural communities in Alaska. This opportunity not only provided me with important background knowledge concerning the history of and current challenges for education in Alaskan

rural communities, but also enabled me to participate in a camp, which was jointly organised by the CHEI, one of the candidates from the previous survey results. This was the best opportunity for me to learn more about their programme and discuss their involvement in my study. The camp was a part of Barnhardt's teacher training course. During the camp, I also piloted a semi-structured interviews with young Alaska Natives, which I had developed and tested earlier with British university students.

Participation in the camp with Athabascan community members, together with background information I gathered in Alaska, gave me valuable insights into what would be involved in working with programmes among indigenous peoples in Alaska. While observing a CHEI programme as a case study was a strong possibility, this subsequently became impossible because of uncertainty of funding on their side and difficulty in establishing timing for participant observation. It was one of the characteristics of informal programmes in Alaska that they were often naturally formed and conducted when finance and people were available. Therefore no detailed plans are made ahead of time and it is difficult to confirm what would actually happen until the programmes start. Moreover, as many of their projects depend on external funding, it is usually uncertain whether the same programme can be repeated in the following year.

For example, the camp in which I participated as a part of the university course was to bring the Athabascan community people and non-Native teachers together. The main purpose was, through immersion in the village atmosphere, to have non-Natives understand Athabascan village culture. However, it was not clear until the last minute who was actually coming from the community side. No activities were planned in a fixed manner, and what would happen depended on which elders came along. Cultural activities were said to be likely to happen but naturally these were not guaranteed, because it was uncertain as to who was coming. A few might make it, or almost everyone from the village might show up. There were no directions during the camp, apart from daily chores, to suggest how to integrate with elders. The participants could just spend the whole period reading books without interacting with Athabascan people. One of the stated objectives of the camp was to learn from elders and learn how the culture worked. In a sense the lack of formal organisation was itself a manifestation of the culture, and elders taught us in their own way how their society functioned. Everything flowed naturally among those who knew what has to be done by when, and as a community participant one had to be aware of it because no announcement would be made. This was their way of knowing and learning. However, it was problematic in terms of a research design, because the only way for me to seize the opportunity to make this programme a case study group was to live there with them, waiting to see something would happen, and this was not feasible for me.

This revealed a research design problem rather than a methodological issue. For me to include a group into my research I required a certain degree of assurance. While I fully accepted the way things were, I needed to find programmes for which I had a clear idea of timing and a rough idea of content. In addition to the initial criteria – educational programmes for young people; addressing connection to the environment; based on local natural environment; and community involvement – another attribute was added; 'a degree of certainty of operation'. With this additional feature in mind, I looked for more programmes during my stay in Alaska.

Several groups were found and I sought more information on them. From these groups two arose as strong candidates. One was the Russian Mission School in a Yup'ik dominant village, and another was the Academy of Elders/Science Camp (called the Science Camp) organised jointly by the Kodiak Island Borough School District (KIBSD) and the Native Village of Afognak (NVA), a USA federally recognised tribal government. The dominant people for the latter programme were Alutiiq. Both groups satisfied the initial criteria with a high degree of certainty of operation. I spoke with a coordinator of the Science Camp over the phone, after an introduction from Barnhardt, and received her informal interest in being involved in the study.

I maintained correspondence with the Russian Mission School principal by email, and in the meantime I made a second visit to Alaska in late July to August 2001 in

order to attend the Science Camp in Kodiak. This second visit was not planned ahead but the opportunity arose during my first visit. The reason I left Alaska once and returned in the same month, rather than staying throughout, was that I had scheduled a visit to Hooksum Outdoor School in British Columbia in early July, another candidate from the preliminary survey. Due to logistical difficulties I met one of their staff in Vancouver instead of visiting the actual site. I learnt more about their programmes by talking with the member of staff, as well as a past participant with whom I talked over the phone. Apart from the uncertainty about participants' age, number, ethnicity and gender, the programme met most of the criteria. However, partly because this was a commercial operation and because of complexities of their society, community involvement was found to be rather weak. The difficulty lay in logistics and a lack of cultural and historical literature about the Hesquiaht people. My concern was that without sufficient background information the multiple case study design would not allow me enough time to understand their society and culture to a satisfactory level. Moreover, historical and educational description would have been critical to building an account from the data I would gather. I postponed the final decision concerning Hooksum Outdoor School until I had an overview of all potential case studies.

I returned to the UK from Vancouver, and flew again to Alaska to observe the Science Camp 2001 on Afognak Island, which is north of Kodiak Island Archipelago in the Gulf of Alaska. It was an opportunity for me to learn about the programme,

and at the same time for them to get to know me and the nature of my research so that they could decide whether or not they would like to be involved. Understandably, Northern indigenous peoples have become increasingly sensitive towards any research and researchers, and ethics are an issue requiring serious consideration (Barnes, 1979). During meetings with a few of the key organisers of the camp, I learnt about the distrust that Alutiiq people had of researchers in general and social scientists in particular. They commented that they had often been exposed to intrusive scrutiny by outsiders, feeling they were subjects of studies, and while they cooperated fully, they gained nothing. They stated that the results produced about them were sometimes offensive and untrue, being based on shallow understanding, and their voice was not fairly reflected.

The unfair power relations between researchers and the researched have been much debated, and researchers' taken-for-granted view that they should be able to access any research subjects without any conditions attached has been much criticised. While Barnes (1979) states the importance of power distribution and negotiation between the concerned parties, some indigenous peoples have addressed this themselves by setting up ethical guidelines for researchers. For example, in 1993 the Alaska Federation of Natives has adopted a set of research principles in order to "deter abuses such as those committed in the past" (Alaska Federation of Natives, 1993).

During the meeting, representatives of NVA, KIBSD and I exchanged several important ethical points and obligations, and through their formal process they began to accept me as a researcher in 2002. One of the points they stressed was that the outcomes of the research must be submitted to them before publication to allow them to comment on any inaccuracies or sensitive issues. Besides the ethical imperative, I welcomed the gesture because I considered the organisers as active participants with whom to discuss my interpretations. It would also be a 'member check' which Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest increases credibility. I was of the view that further interaction with these people would contribute to my better understanding of the phenomena, which, whether or not we could agree on everything, would benefit both parties.

*Stage 4: The Second Visit to Alaska*

From the participation of the Science Camp in 2001, I gained a good insight into the organisers' rationales for the programme and reasons why elders supported it. I found the age of participants a slight concern. The participants of the project in 2001 were from 8 to 13 years old. They were much younger than the 'up to 12$^{th}$ graders' (usually 18 years old) stated in promotional papers. I tested a few prepared questions and found that I could not expect participants around 12 years old to interpret questions as I had intended, or fully articulate their feelings and experiences. For example, in talking with a 13-year-old Alutiiq boy about his experiences during some other camp, I asked "Then what did you like most about that camp?" I

expected him to talk about the camp or what he did, but after a long serious thought his reply was "Nachos" (Fieldnotes, 03/08/01). He liked nachos which were served on a special day. Then I asked what he did not like about the camp. He named some games they played. The reason was because he had lost the game. Getting the questions right, i.e. resolving ambiguity, was proving to be a challenge.

I learnt the camp had always attracted children around 10-12 years old. The assumption that young children are not accountable has been largely dismissed and a number of authors have discussed the complexity of children's responses (Christensen & James, 2000b; Dockrell et al., 2000; Mayall, 2000). Scott (2000) suggests that semi-structured interviews can be adequately used with children of seven years old and older, and that they are capable of providing meaningful and insightful information. From 11 years old children should be able to fully articulate their perceptions, opinions and beliefs (Scott, 2000). The statement is a guideline and it should be treated carefully because as is being suggested, there are many other variables which determine to what extent an individual can fully express their thoughts. For example, children in places like Micronesia and Japan are taught not to state their own opinions directly, especially to adults. In general, talkativeness is regarded as wrongdoing in these societies, and forming their own opinions tends to be superseded by going along with the majority. It is a social and cultural norm, and they would respond differently from a child who had grown up being encouraged constantly to form and express his or her own opinions.

Clearly in order to approach their children carefully I needed to get more insight into Alutiiq culture. Even though I did not know the number and ages of the participants in the programme for the following year, I decided to include it in my study. I assumed that there would be enough children I could talk with, and they would not be my sole source of information as I intended to involve organisers, elders, community members and parents as research participants (Chapter 3).

*Unexpected Candidate*

Inclusion of Russian Mission School was confirmed by email correspondence in October 2001. Though I had not visited them at this stage, I had gathered information regarding their educational programmes outdoors through their webpage and discussions with the principal. Two parties had recommended the school principal because of his previous achievements using outdoor programmes. I decided that the information was sufficient. They were willing to cooperate, their logistics were practical, and the timing the principal suggested for my data-gathering visit was compatible with my overall research schedule.

By November 2001, I had two confirmed study sites in Alaska; the outdoor education programme of Russian Mission School, and the Science Camp of the KIBSD/ NVA. While I was searching for more background information about the Hesquiaht people in order to decide if I could include the Hooksum Outdoor School in British

Columbia, another suggestion came from a prominent British ethnographer with expertise in Canadian minorities. The group suggested was located in Igloolik, Nunavut, and they were Inuit elders who were concerned with transferring to younger generations the traditional knowledge necessary to live on the land. For several reasons the group and their efforts immediately provoked my strong interest.

First, Igloolik has been known as 'the most traditional' community in Nunavut, which has been a self-governing Canadian territory since April 1999 with about 85% of the population being Inuit (Statistics Canada, 2001). To learn that a community regarded as 'very traditional' needed to organise courses to teach young people traditional skills appeared paradoxical and therefore of interest. Secondly, Kodiak and Russian Mission had similar attributes, and including a group with a different background could widen the scope of the study to achieve maximum variation (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). Yup'ik and Alutiiq languages are regarded as closely related (Alaska Native Language Center, 2001; Goddard, 1996), and both histories and contemporary cultures have an association with the Russian Orthodox Church. Both programmes were linked to schools. These similarities offered strengths and weaknesses in the study. What was more significant however was that both societies had been subject to heavy western influences which are discussed later in the Alaskan history section. To take a language as an indicator, hardly anyone other than the elders was fluent in their own language in either the Kodiak Island region (Krauss, 1979; Leer, 2001) or Russian Mission (M. Hull, personal

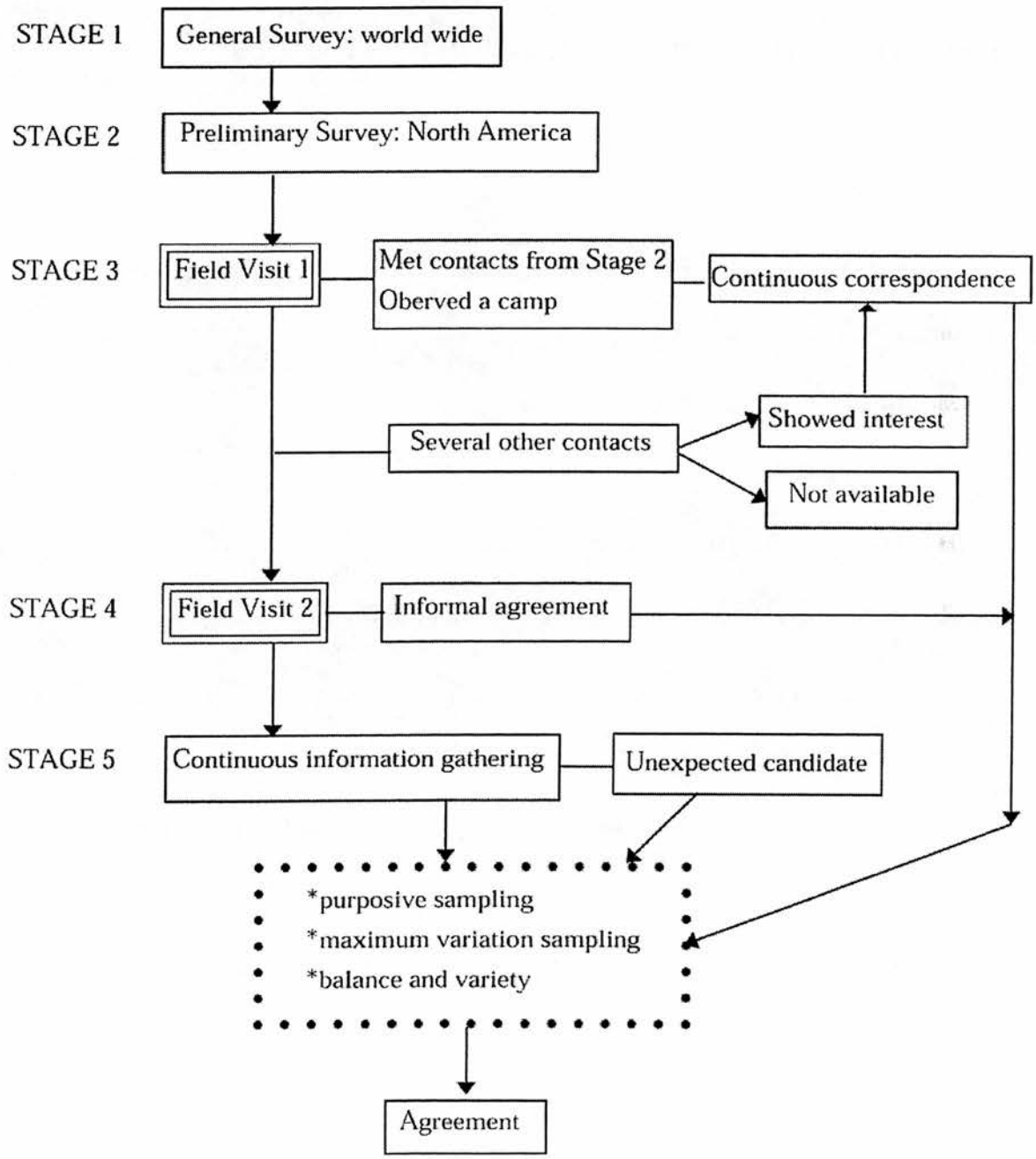
communication, 27 August 2001). On the other hand, people in Igloolik still use Inuktitut as their first language. Igloolik also stood out as a strong contrast to the UK groups. Following Stake's (1994) guiding principle, including the Igloolik case seemed to offer "balance and variety" (p. 244).

However it was not an easy decision to make. Even without Hooksum Outdoor School, three big case studies in North America might be too overwhelming to conduct effectively, especially as I was unfamiliar with the Igloolik or Nunavut context. There was also a financial concern, as flying up to Igloolik only would cost at least £1200. Having discussed these issues with a few social science researchers in the UK who had strong links with Igloolik, I finally decided to include the group in Igloolik because I felt it was important for the scope of my research. It was suggested that I drop a case of either Russian Mission or Kodiak, but I refrained from doing so as people there had already invested time in cooperating with my work, and their programmes seemed to offer important opportunities. Moreover there was no guarantee that all of the programmes in Russian Mission, Kodiak or Igloolik would operate as planned when I visited. I explained to Hooksum Outdoor School the reasons why regrettably I could not work with them in this study. Figure 4.2 shows how the selection process for groups in North America actually developed.

The final selection for study programmes in North America was as follows, in the order of planned field visits:

- Russian Mission School classes outdoors (Russian Mission, Alaska)
- Inullariit Elders' Society land-skills training course (Igloolik, Nunavut)
- The Science Camp by KIBSD and NVA (Kodiak, Alaska)

Figure 4.2 The selection of North American case studies



**Programmes in the UK**

As mentioned, selecting cases within and outside the UK took place simultaneously and in an interlinked manner. I was initially looking for one group in the UK as a sounding board for non-UK cases and *vice versa*. However, this developed in an unexpected direction and the procedures revealed some findings regarding the outdoor environmental educational programmes in the UK.

*Stage 1: Locating a Pilot Group*

The original criteria for the UK group were the same with those for groups in North America. These were:

1) educational programmes for young people,

2) a focus on connection with the environment,

3) based on local natural environment, and

4) community involvement and a sense of programme ownership of local people.

Considering the complexity of the notion of a 'community' in the UK, I rephrased Criterion 4 as 'having an input on local history and human resources in the area'. As for the general survey for indigenous populations, I combined a 'snowball' or 'network' technique and 'reputational' search, starting with researchers who were familiar with outdoor/environmental education programmes in the UK. I also searched through available literature and the Internet.

I encountered a surprising level of difficulty in obtaining information on the sort of programmes I was looking for, despite arguments put forward in academic papers advocating 'connection' with the environment (Cooper, 1994; Higgins, 1996a, 1997). Early suggestions were the Camas Programme of the Iona Community (an ecumenical Christian community) and Whitewave Outdoor Centre on the Isle of Skye. The Camas Programme met all criteria, but the coordinator was very difficult to contact and I abandoned the idea eight months after I first tried to make contact. For the first few months, no-one at the Community replied to my email or postal inquiries. Through a personal introduction I was finally able to talk with the coordinator of the programme by telephone. I did not, however, manage to arrange a meeting with her despite several attempts by telephone, fax and letter over a period of three months. Whitewave had an intention to involve local culture and history in their programmes in the context of enhancing a bond with the land, but when I contacted them they had no concrete plans to organise such a programme.

The John Muir Award (JMA) scheme was also suggested. It is an educational initiative of the John Muir Trust, a conservation organisation in the UK. In February 2001 I had discussions with Mandy Calder, a JMA regional officer in East Lothian, Scotland[3]. She was leading a group of young people in Gullane, south-eastern Scotland, who had started the scheme, and we agreed to work together. Calder introduced me to the group and where possible their parents, and I asked their permission to have me around during the programmes. The group became a pilot

study. Calder's claims for the programme's objectives satisfied the selection criteria. It made the group more suitable as a study case to have her as the organiser and at the same time as leader or instructor of the group, actually dealing with participants during the scheme. When organisers and group leaders are different, the discrepancy between what is claimed by organisers and what is understood among group leaders tends to be large (Nicol, 2001). My initial entry to the programme was based on the organiser's claims, and having the same person deal with the actual programmes could make things simpler. Nonetheless this was not always the case.

Unless the programmes are fully residential, the JMA scheme lasts from three months to a year, depending on the level of award being undertaken by the young people. I started to work with the Gullane group in April 2001, and finished interviews in late October. Initially the group had 13 members, but this dropped to three by the end. One parent did not give me written consent, so my interview data was from two young people, a boy and a girl. While this was a very small number, observation throughout the development gave me a good insight into the world of young people in the area and how these educational programmes fit in. It was a pilot study, but as methods and questions used were within the same framework, I included my observations, conversations and my reflective notes as part of the analysis of UK groups. More importantly, the group's distinct nature enriched the data as a whole.

*Stage 2: Need for Further Search*

For my actual study group, Calder suggested a volunteer who was going to form a JMA group in a town called Tranent, near Gullane. The JMA scheme can take various formats. For example, to achieve an award a group of individuals from all over the UK could go to a 'remote place' for four days, or a group of local children could work in their own environment over three months. A local group working in their own environment suited my criteria best. However, the most critical element for the selection was whether an organiser or coordinator of the group was conscious about importance of building relationships with the environment. The snowball sampling technique was effective in the search for a defined case, and I hoped the Tranent group could be the single UK case. However, when the group was formed with cooperation of the local school in early November 2001, the participants turned out to be only four girls who were 12 and 13 years old. I realised that I needed more groups to put the UK into context. It was about the time that I was making a final decision on the North American cases, and I thought of balance between the two broadly bounded cultural groups. From the design perspective, I then set out to find more groups which, in terms of programme approach and method, were similar to JMA Gullane and JMA Tranent, and for the purpose of analysis intended to categorise them as a big UK group.

In late September I had sent a message to 193 subscribers of a mailing list OUTRES, which was set up for debate and discussion around research issues in outdoor and adventure education, asking if they knew an educational programme in the UK which met my criteria. In addition to the criteria outlined earlier in this chapter, an age indication between 12 – 16 years, guided by the Gullane Group's age range, was given to the subscribers. I added that the programme should contain educational experiences outdoors. However, the two contacts provided from the OUTRES subscribers were the Camas Programme and the Whitewave Outdoor Centre, both of which I had already abandoned. In November 2001 after I discovered that the Tranent group comprised only four girls, I resumed the search once again. I chose to consult with purposely selected experts in the field of education and vigorously pursued possibilities. I concentrated on the task and spent nearly four months exhausting the contacts and resources to determine the final study groups in the UK.

*Stage 3: Exhaustion of Information Sources*

*A Guide for Outdoor Educators in Scotland* listed 162 outdoor providers in Scotland (Higgins, Loynes, & Crowther, 1997). I discussed the list with two experts who had for some years researched outdoor education in Scotland, asking them to delete providers which they knew would not clearly fit into my criteria, leaving ones either they were not familiar with or those which they thought might conduct the sort of programmes that I was looking for. One researcher crossed out all but 33 providers, in which he stated five had potential. He had no information about the remaining

28. The second researcher marked six of the 33 providers as possibilities, four of which matched the five that the first researcher had indicated. I looked at the websites of all 33 providers, and deleted those I judged did not fit into the criteria from the information available on the Internet. Fourteen providers remained undetermined due to either having no specific webpage or the information not being decisive. I telephoned two providers, sent emails to seven and letters to five. Four said they did not conduct such programmes. One of them suggested that I contact Mandy Calder of the JMA. One Regional Park replied to say that they were involved in such a programme, but when I sent my proposal, asking them to provide more details if the organisation was interested in cooperating, they did not reply. One ranger service indicated that the 'historical context' was difficult to mix with what they offered. I did not hear from the remaining eight providers, and accepted it as indicating that they either had no such programme or were not interested in co-operating.

The purposely selected experts included Bob Telfer, an inspector of the Adventure Activities Licensing Authority (AALA) stationed in Scotland, Marcus Bailie of the AALA in England and Neil Harrison from Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH). The AALA inspects activity centres and providers who work with young people, and issues licences indicative of standard safe practice. SNH is a governmental body which aims to protect the Scottish natural environment, and among its functions is an environmental education role. Neil Harrison from SNH advised me that "the JMA

will fit well" (27 Nov 2001). He suggested a few other organisations. I looked through their websites and determined that they did not meet my criteria.

Bob Telfer inspects about 100 outdoor programme providers in Scotland every year. He is knowledgeable about organisations and programmes which deal with young people in Scotland. Over the phone, he initially suggested the Whitewave and the JMA. Then he said "I am not aware off the top of my head, but that does not mean it does not exist. I will give serious thought to this during the morning, and get back to you" (25 Nov 2001). Later he phoned me again and gave me contacts of six organisations. Two were abandoned through website search, and I sent emails to four of them. They were Monikie Country Park, Lochranza Field Centre, Kindrogan Field Centre, and the National Trust for Scotland.

I received a telephone call from a person at Monikie Country Park immediately after I sent an email who said they provided environmental education and various programmes, and continued to say that their main activities were "watersports for schools and general public" (28 Nov 2001). He did state that he intended to enhance environmental awareness among visitors through programmes; there was a possibility that they satisfied my criteria. He further explained that they offered day or half-day programmes to achieve the goal; May and June were the busiest, and they received school visits everyday. Bookings were usually made a few weeks in advance. He said that in-between practical activities outdoors he "slots in tree

programmes" (28 Nov 2001), which appeared to be considered as environmental education activities designed to enhance the connection to the environment.

There were a few problems with including Monikie Country Park. First his explanation of the way activities were run posed a logistical and ethical problem. It would be difficult to plan ahead if they only knew who would be attending programmes a few weeks in advance. Also it would not give me enough time to ask schools and parents to cooperate and get permission to engage children into my study. Moreover, I pondered about the balance between a 'slotted-in' tree programme within a day or a half-day visit of a British school to a country park and a week-long camp with Alutiiq Elders[4] on an island in the Gulf of Alaska. I decided to look for programmes in which participants spend a number of quality days rather than just a day or a half-day. In the meantime I also learnt that Lochranza Field Centre focused more on academic achievement than enhancing connection with the environment among participants; I therefore ruled this out.

Later I visited the Kindrogan Outdoor Centre, having found out that they explicitly addressed 'a sense of place' issue. However I discovered that most of the visiting school groups came to do 'team building' activities. Both the Monikie Country Park and the Kindrogan Outdoor Centre had a number of separate activities, each of which was developed for a specific purpose. A visiting party would choose a combination of activities for their overall purposes. This approach struck me as

being similar to the way school organises subjects. Each subject is compartmentalised and designed to develop academic skills or knowledge in a certain field. Each outdoor activity was designed to achieve a particular goal, and outdoor education experts could combine activities for a required outcome. Building a relationship with the environment was not a principle theme grounded in the entire programme designs, but rather one of the separate activities delivered in a session of a few hours. The activity at Kindrogan which addressed the issue of the 'connection' was not necessarily chosen by all visiting school groups. Moreover, due to changes in staff at Kindrogan in 2001 and restricted land access caused by Foot and Mouth Disease in the same year, none of the staff had actually conducted the specific programme I was interested in. The programmes and activities were described in a staff instructional manual rather than the staff actively designing programmes based on their own ideas and thoughts.

It appears that there is a belief among the outdoor providers in the UK that the connection with the land and history can be achieved by a rationally constructed activity. It also seems to imply that the same goal is expected to be achieved by any staff in a prescribed manner. It would have been interesting to observe such programmes to get an understanding about the practice of Scottish outdoor centres. However, in keeping with my overall research design, I decided to seek multiple-day programmes. Moreover, within the time frame of my research, none of the groups

visiting the centres had plans to choose the programmes which addressed building a relationship with the environment.

Marcus Bailie was a colleague of Telfer, and knowledgeable about English organisations in the same way Telfer was about Scottish organisations. He replied to my inquiry by saying he only had "sketchy details" of such programmes, and suggested I contact the Institute for Outdoor Learning (30 Nov 2001). When I contacted the institute, they simply sent me their literature list. As for England, I also sent an inquiry to some well-known environmental education centres and organisations, including the Bishops Wood Environmental Education Centre, Schumacher College, and the Centre for Alternative Technology. These had also been suggested by other contacts. Two (Bishops Wood Environmental and the Centre for Alternative Technology) replied to my inquiry, but their programmes were either for much younger children or for adults and therefore did not meet my research criteria.

I received more suggestions from contacts, but many suggested the same groups I had already considered. In other cases I was unable to establish correspondence with the parties suggested. Only the JMA scheme appeared to be an appropriate line to pursue. As described earlier in this chapter, a number of people throughout my long search suggested the scheme. Through my search for a study group in the UK, I found that outdoor educational programmes in the UK for young people placed

little emphasis on historical and local perspectives. The environment, outdoor activities, culture, history, and the localities tended to be treated as separate elements. The programmes were mostly institutionalised, and educational programmes were the sum of prescribed activities each of which was not necessarily linked. Some practitioners felt that connecting people with the environment was important, but they could not design the entire programmes to fully engage with the issue.

*Stage 4: Reconsideration of Initial Stance*

With so many references from experts, I went back to the JMA scheme for more possible study groups. Other than the Tranent group, there were no others whose participants' age and timing of activities matched my framework. Then Calder suggested the Green Team, an Edinburgh-based charity that conducts environmental education partly using the JMA scheme. I had previously rejected the idea of involving this organisation as a vehicle to another award scheme - the Duke of Edinburgh's Award. I considered that the mixture of young participants who were engaged in two different award schemes would complicate the study. I was looking for groups with similar nature and style of the JMA Gullane and Tranent groups so that I could consider them as one big UK group, which were operated in the same framework with similar approaches. From that perspective, the way in which the Green Team organised programmes was problematic for my study. In 2002, they organised nine single 'day projects' and nine single 'overnight projects', and participation was open to young people 14-25 years old. The participants were

different at each project; at each occasion they went to different spots to do various conservation activities; volunteer leaders who dealt with the participants changed with each programme. These points were significantly different to the JMA Gullane and Tranent Group, in which the same group of young people worked in the same environment with the same volunteer leaders over a period of several months.

However, there were commonalities in their framework. The coordinator of the Green Team openly addressed the issue of connection with the environment; she claimed the programmes were designed to work with local people. Their webpage stressed the locality and learning about natural heritage in their environment. The locality issue could be solved by framing the programme sites as being within their region, even if the sites were not located where the participants actually lived. The maximum distance for the participants to travel would have been within 100 km from where they lived, which was much closer than the distance people covered in Alaska and Nunavut during their programmes. It was interesting to investigate, in relation to moving from one place to another, how participants perceived the locality and connection with the environment. I decided to start with them, and the coordinator took steps to inform participants and their guardians about my involvement in their programmes through their newsletters. The style of the Green Team operation was certainly an example which indicated variations in approach among the programmes in Scotland.

I finally met Sue Mackenzie, educational officer of the NTS in February 2002. The NTS had been suggested by Bob Telfer. I spoke with Mackenzie over the phone before we met, and at that time she acknowledged the importance of building relationships with the environment among participants, though the NTS programmes did not publicise this as a goal. In the meeting, she restated that connection was one of the most important goals she would pursue through the programmes. The NTS's programmes for young people were again different from the JMA Gullane and Tranent style. The NTS gathered groups of individuals from across the UK to an NTS property in a 'remote' area for week-long conservation programme. One of the programmes was planned for August and Mackenzie would be in charge. Of my four criteria, the ones which would be controversial in the NTS case would be 'based on the local natural environment' and 'having an input on local history and human resources in the area'. Mackenzie reassured me that having an input on local history was very important for the programme. By 'local' in the criteria, I meant 'local to the participants'. Strictly speaking, from this perspective, the NTS case would not fall in the study category. However, having other criteria exhibited, a point of examination would be how the organisers made sense of 'connection' among participants from outside of the particular place, and this might expand the understanding of the concept. Mackenzie and I agreed to work together, but first she needed to confirm whether or not the programme would actually happen, and then get internal permission to have the programme included in my research. She also became responsible for acquiring parental consent to involve their children in

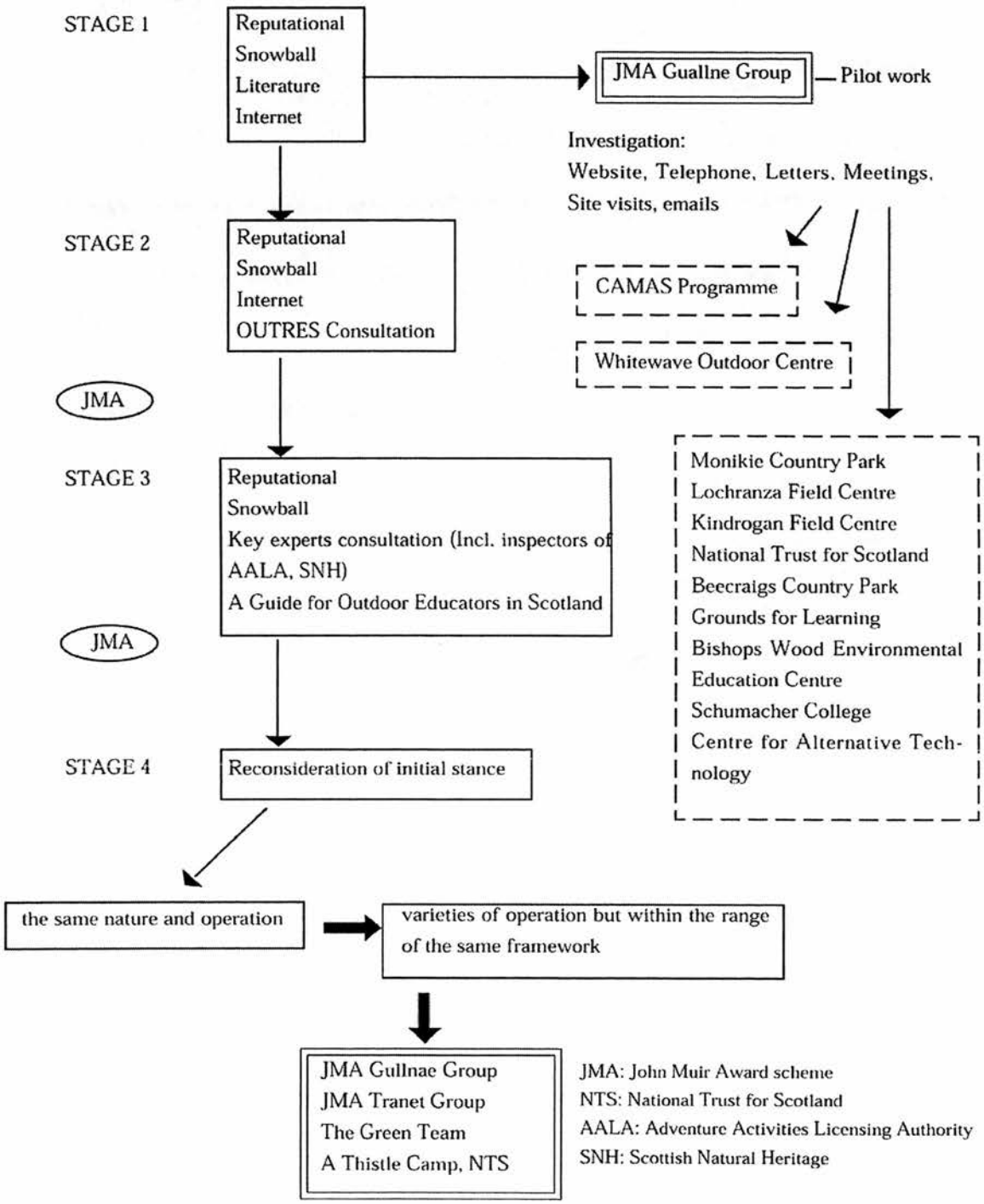
my study in due course. Juggling with other field visits in 2002, the inclusion of the NTS programme to make an August visit was only finally confirmed in July.

Initially, I set out to identify one study group in the UK. The first group identified generated the concern that based on Stake's (1994) "balance and variety" (p. 244) sampling principle, it was too small in comparison to the cases in North America. What then followed was a long journey to discover that there were few practical attempts of a significant scale in the UK that openly addressed the issue of connecting people with the environment. I accept the possibility that there might be more programmes that were not covered by the methods I used in my search. However, the fact that researchers and experts in the fields all suggesting the same few organisations indicated that programmes of this type were either rare or too small to be noticed.

As a result, I selected four separate groups in the UK whose forms of operation varied greatly. Though there were problems in bringing them together as one big group, there were benefits to my study as the search process and the eventual spread of cases helped me better understand the UK context. In considering the overall research design the final decision was based on the suggested 'maximum variation' and 'balance and variety' approaches to sampling. The selection was made after the maximum effort in the limited time available without compromising the best possible

"opportunity to learn" (Stake, 1994, p. 244). A summary of the selection procedures for the UK groups is shown in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3 The selection of UK case studies



The final selection of all study groups was:

Alaska:

Russian Mission School classes outdoors (Russian Mission)

The Science Camp organised by the KIBSD and the NVA (Kodiak)

Nunavut:

A land-skills training course of the Inullariit Elders' Society (Igloolik)

Scotland:

The JMA Gullane Group

The JMA Tranent Group

The Green Team

A Trailblazer Camp of the NTS

As an overall design, the selected cases consisted of two broadly defined cultural groups. One belonged to Western mainstream culture and another to the northern minority culture. Within the Western cultural group, there were three forms of operation concerning locality. One was locally based, the second was semi-locally based, and the third was conducted outside of their locality. On the other hand, the northern minority culture groups were distinct from each other in terms of the level of maintenance of a physical subsistence way of life. One strongly maintains their subsistence way of life, the second does so partly, and the third group is physically relatively remote from a traditional way of life. I would restate here that a discussion of the broader society to which each study group would belong, be it the

UK, Scotland, or the Kodiak Island region, is beyond the scope of this thesis. This study is confined to specific groups of people who are engaged in the educational programmes, though in the case of Russian Mission and Igloolik, the groups seem to address the common interests of their entire communities in a number of ways.

The location of each group is indicated in respective chapters, but Figure 4.4 aims to aid readers' general geographical orientation.

Figure 4.4 Map of the World (Source: US Central Intelligence Agency)


Notes:

[1] The meaning of the term 'indigenous' or 'traditional', both with respect to people and their knowledge, is contested (Agrawal, 1995; Barnes, 1993; Schmink et al., 1992). Furze et al. (1996) offer a guiding concept of an 'indigenous population' as having a present or very recent intimate dependence on local ecosystems for their survival, an idea of the original inhabitants of a particular area, and often subjugated by more recent settlers. In this study, in contrast to the mainstream 'West', 'non-Western' aspects are also associated with the term 'indigenous'.

[2] The term 'Alaska Native' or 'Native' is generically used by indigenous peoples themselves in Alaska. More explanation is in Chapter 6.
[3] As suggested in Chapter 1, the organisers' names are disclosed only with their agreement, and this was important to determine their credibility.
[4] In literature concerning Alutiiq people, 'Elders' are often used to specifically imply culture bearers. While in referring to Alutiiq people I adopt this usage, 'elders' in other North American groups' contexts also connote the same meaning. See Chapter 6.

# Chapter 5 'Bonding with the Land' in Scotland (UK)

In the afternoon of 15 November 2001, three 12 year-old girls and three adults, including myself, walked through the town of Tranent, 15 km east of Edinburgh, to inspect a possible conservation project site. Starting from their school, we walked past houses along the road, and turned to go down to a wooded former rail track. We continued through a park and on to a patch of woodland, speculating about why there was so much rubbish around. Along the way, GX told me about the crops in the fields and the large power station visible towards the north. Traffic on the nearby motorway made a constant background noise. One of the leaders of the group had done some conservation work on the woodland, and she explained the ecology of the area. It started to get dark around 4.30pm, and the beauty of the orange evening sun beaming through trees amazed the girls. The leaders suggested that the girls encourage the planted tiny saplings to grow by speaking to them and breathing onto them as a symbolic gesture of providing food; CO2. The girls chose the site for their project which took them about four months to complete.

In Chapter 4, I explained my initial preference for a UK-wide study group. Circumstances, however, led to the identification of four separate study groups, all within Scotland. Though there were differences across programmes, many similarities were also identified. In this chapter, I explore those differences as variety within one loosely bound group. I am aware that this will omit some

important discussions, but focusing on the groups as one large cultural case has validity and will allow discussion alongside North American cases. I hope to highlight the differences among these groups in Scotland as separate papers elsewhere. While the study programmes were located in Scotland, some aspects are explained in the broader context of the UK.

## Background Information on the Research Site

The participants of all of my study groups lived in a city or town environment, though national and ethnic backgrounds varied to some degree. For three groups, the activities mostly took place in their home towns or within 60km. In contrast, one group travelled to northern Scotland, away from any of the participants' homes. Therefore, rather than focusing on their various activity sites, I contextualise the programmes by describing the general physical, social and historical landscape of Scotland. Specific characteristics of the programme location will be explained in later sections.

### Brief History of Landscape and Urbanisation in Scotland

Scotland covers nearly 79,000 $km^2$ or 1/3 of Great Britain (Figure 5.1) and as of 2001 its population is 5.06 million, representing 8.6% of UK residents (National Statistics, 2001a). Its major cities and towns occupy 3% of the land (Callander, 1998), whereas over 20% of the population live in two major cities, Glasgow and Edinburgh (City of Edinburgh Council, 2001). The population density ranges from eight persons per $km^2$ in the Highlands[1] to 3,298 persons per $km^2$ in Glasgow (General Register Office for Scotland, 2002).

The Highlands contains most of the high mountains of the UK, and the hills, which have been stripped of trees, are covered with heather. The countryside, coastline,

rivers, lakes (lochs) and hills have long proved attractive to 'outdoor' people, and since the mid 20th century outdoor education and recreation have received public and commercial attention (Higgins & Sharp, 2003).

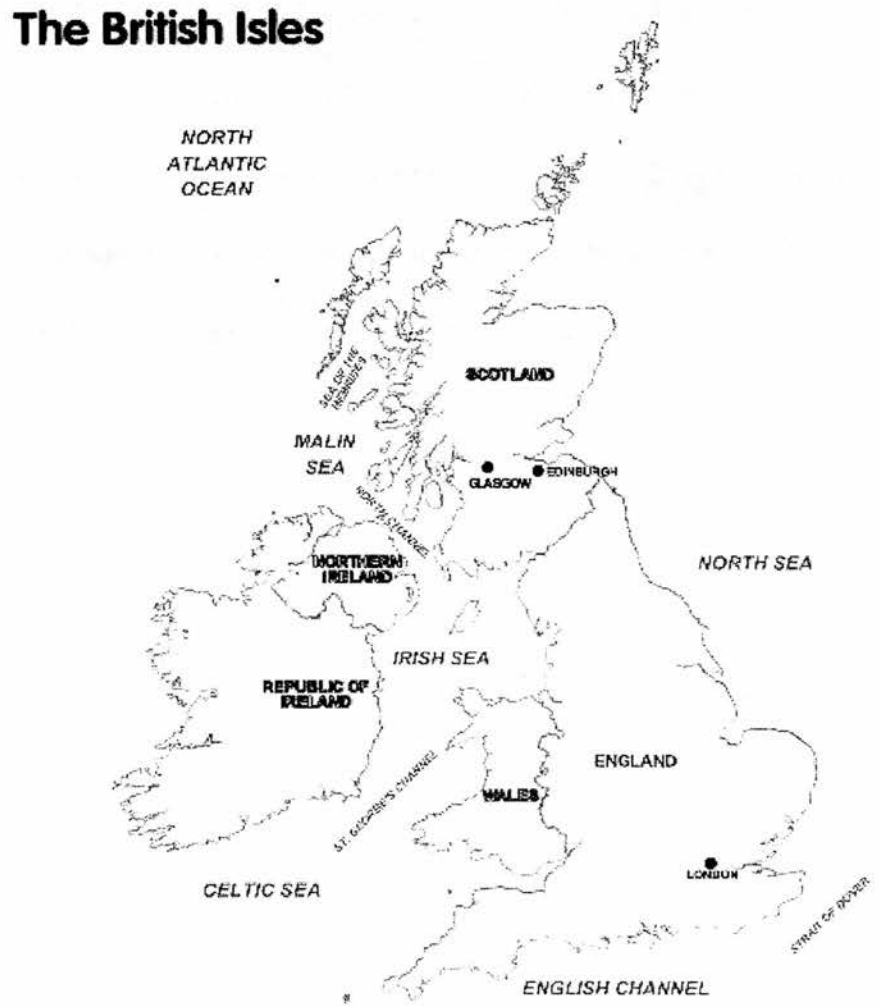



Figure 5.1 Map of the UK (Source: Ordnance Survey)

While Fraser (1997) cites reports of early settlers in Scotland about 8000 years ago, other sources suggest that humans lived in the area before the last Ice Age (Hutton, 1991). When the Romans invaded Scotland in the 1st century they faced

descendents of a Celtic race who had spread across Europe after the last Ice Age (Fraser, 1997; Shoard, 1997). The landscape then was very different from that which we see today.

From fossil remains and pollen records it is believed that 6000-7000 years ago Scotland was extensively covered with woodland, except on high peaks and wet areas (Millennium Guide to Scotland's Woodland Resource, n.d.). Neolithic humans started to clear woods for farming and grazing about 5,500 years ago, and deforestation accelerated from the medieval times. The Forestry Commission started to plant trees in 1900s, and as of 1995, 16.4% of Scotland is covered in woodland (Forestry Commission, 2001) of which 65% are planted (Millennium Guide to Scotland's Woodland Resource, n.d.). Woodland cover increased by 4.6% between 1980 and 1995, and now woodland of mainly native or naturalised species is calculated to cover about 4% of the entire land (Forestry Commission, 2001).

It is a conventional view that in the early 18$^{th}$ century, Scotland was considered as a predominantly rural society in Western Europe. Devine (2000) describes the growth of Scottish large towns from mid 18$^{th}$ to mid 19$^{th}$ century as "explosive" (p. 153). In 1750, less than 10% of Scots lived in towns with 10,000 inhabitants or more, but almost one-third did so in 1850 (Devine, 2000), which made Scotland the most urbanised country in the world after England and Wales. Devine (2000) suggests that agrarian improvement was the necessary condition to support

urbanisation in terms of producing food supplies with less labour, and that geographical advantage in international trade and the expansion of manufacturing industry were critical feature of urbanisation. The urbanisation continued, and in 1911, 50% of Scots lived in centres of more than 20,000 inhabitants and one in three Scots lived in four large cities in Scotland (Devine, 2000).

From the mid 18th century, the focus on commerce also affected land use and the social system. Scotland, especially the Highlands, had a traditional kinship-based subsistence economy. It was undermined by the English feudal system imposed by the government (Callander, 1998; Fraser, 1997), and eradicated by landowners at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution (Prebble, 1969; Shoard, 1997). During the period between the late 18th and mid 19th centuries, the so called 'highland clearances' took place, when many local crofters were persuaded or forced to leave the land so that sheep could be introduced to maximise the profit of landowners[2]. Apart from continuing logging and deforestation, the overgrazing by sheep stopped regeneration of deciduous trees and growth of soft plants, allowing only heather to prevail. The remains of the stone pre-clearance dwellings are still visible in many 'wild areas' in Scotland today.

Immigration and exodus have been features of Scotland since the 18th century. Devine (2000) states that during four great surges of emigration (in the 1850s, 1870s, the early 1900s and in the inter-war period) Scotland was "the emigration capital of

Europe" (p. 468), if movement to England is counted. While being a highly successful industrial and agricultural economy, Scotland was losing large numbers of people. The emigration was associated with areas of economic growth as well as regions of economic decline (Devine, 2000). Urbanisation induced the influx of the Catholic Irish into Scotland in late 19th century. In the 1950s, the growing economy attracted new streams of immigrants such as Indians, Pakistanis and Chinese, who supported the society as unskilled and semi-skilled workers (Devine, 2000).

Higgins (2002) suggests that the historical patterns of landuse and land ownership in Scotland had "considerable influence on the 'national psyche' and the 'sense of place' of many Scots" (p. 152), as well as upon the perceptions of outdoor recreational visitors. A similar view is held by other writers (Hunter, 1995; McIntosh, 2001), implying that relationship with land is tied to identity.

Despite the influence of England and urbanisation, many Scottish people are claimed to have maintained a discrete sense of identity (Donnachie & Whatley, 1992); this has been recognised in the re-establishment in 1999 (after a gap of nearly 300 years) of the Scottish Parliament. While UK decisions are still taken by the central government, the Scottish Parliament has a number of devolved functions and powers.

**Early Conservation Movement and Education in the UK**

The origins of contemporary Western environmental concern are suggested to date back to colonial times in the 17th century, and to Scottish scientists employed by the East India Company who influenced colonial environmental policy (Grove, 1990, 1995). The UK has one of the oldest conservation movements in the world, dating back to the 1870s, in the face of destruction of the natural environment due to "the enthusiasm for the taming of the wilderness into man's preferred artificial landscapes" (Evans, 1992, p. 18). Even prior to this movement, people who were interested in the natural world started to form precursor societies from as early as the 17th century.

The history and the size of contemporary environmental organisations' membership are impressive. Founded in 1895, the National Trust for Wales, England and Northern Ireland now has over three million members and owns 248,000 hectares of land (National Trust, 2003). The National Trust for Scotland, founded in 1931, has 239,000 members and owns 76,000 hectares of land (National Trust for Scotland, 2001). The Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB), established in 1889, has 1,030,869 members (Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, 2003). Every year hundreds of thousands of volunteers claim to be involved in conservation tasks through various conservation schemes all over the UK.

Among many influential thinkers and writers in the 19th century, Scottish Professor of Botany Sir Patrick Geddes is often attributed as the first person to link the environment and education (Boardman, 1944; Palmer, 1998; Scottish Office Education Department, 1993b). His work resulted in a nature studies movement which grew into rural studies, and developed into outdoor education, field studies, conservation education and so on (Palmer, 1998; Sterling, 2001b).

The contemporary environmental movement is said to have emerged in many Western nations in the 1960s, especially after the publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* in 1962 (Dresner, 1996). Since then, environmental issues have been explicitly put on political agendas worldwide, and many books and magazines have been produced in the UK linked to environmental matters. Environmental issues are now a major part of the media output (Beckerman, 1995b). Nonetheless, many authors claim that the general environmental awareness in both the British and Scottish context is not substantial (Evans, 1992; McCormick & McDowell, 1999; System Three, 2000), and that environmental education is not a significantly integral part of the school curriculum (Condie, 2003; Palmer, 1998). The result of a recent environmental attitude survey showed that while 77% of respondents agreed that most people in Scotland today need to change their way of life so that future generations can continue to enjoy a good quality of life and environment, just 46% believed they personally needed to change their way of life (Hinds, Carmichael, & Snowling, 2002). This is the context in which the four study groups in Scotland

operated their environment and sustainability education programmes for young people.

## Overview of the Programmes

This section describes the features of each programme, including organisers or responsible organisations and programme outlines.

### Organisers

All four study groups were linked in terms of the educational schemes they adopted, which are described later in this section. Staff and instructors (they called themselves 'leaders') of three groups knew each other, the groups sometimes had the same people volunteered for their programmes, and two groups operated with the same educational framework.

The organisers are listed as follows, and where they exist specific group names are in parentheses: the John Muir Award East Lothian (the JMA Gullane), Leigh Shearer (the JMA Tranent)[3], the Green Team, the National Trust for Scotland (Kintail Trailblazer). Figure 5.2 shows the main activity areas of each study group. It indicates that activity sites for three groups are urban areas.

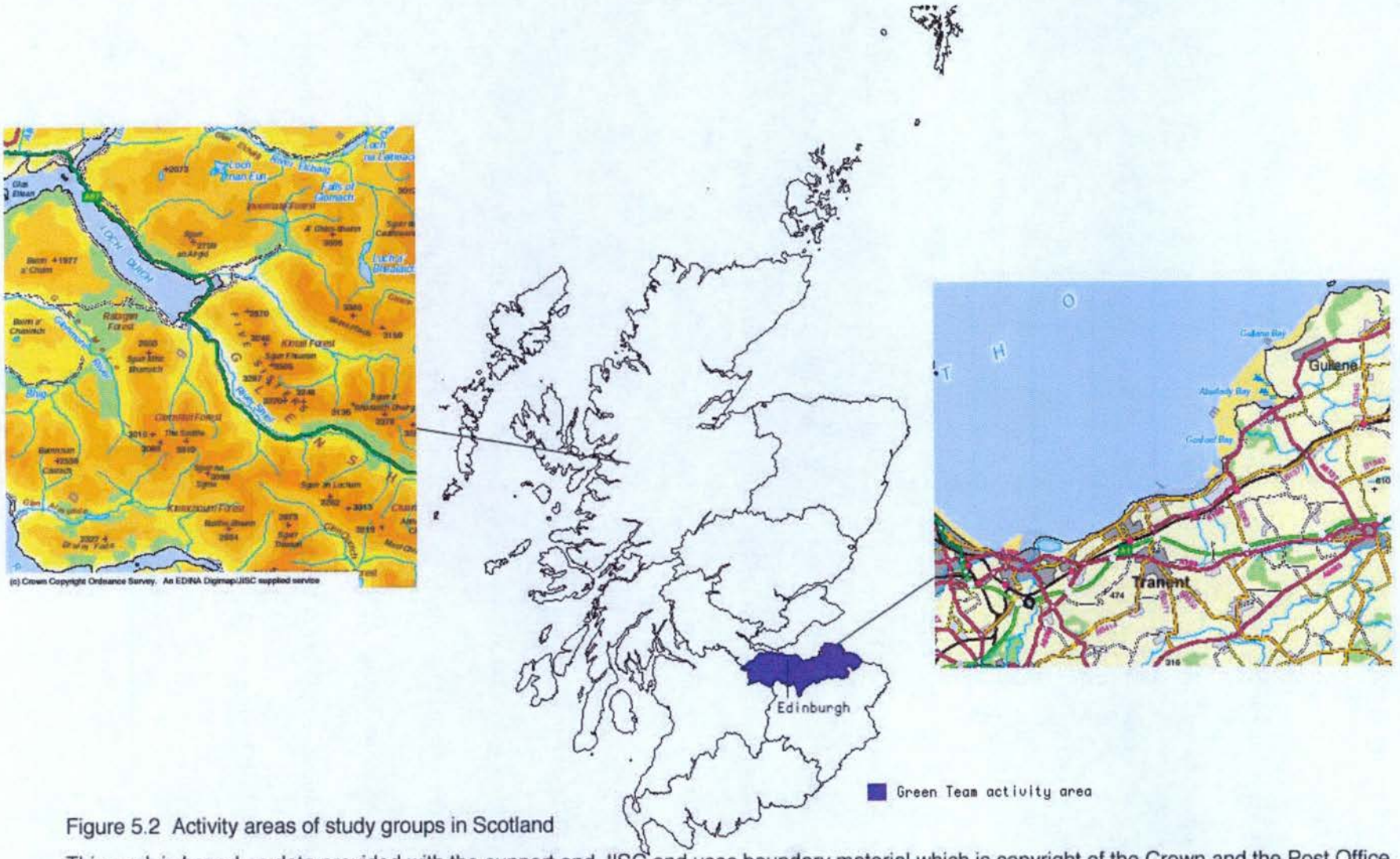



Figure 5.2 Activity areas of study groups in Scotland

This work is based on data provided with the support and JISC and uses boundary material which is copyright of the Crown and the Post Office.

*The John Muir Award (JMA)*

The JMA is an educational scheme launched in 1997 by a non-profit conservation organisation, the John Muir Trust. The Trust was established in 1983 to 'protect and conserve wild places[4] by purchasing and conserving the area' (John Muir Trust, 2003). As of 2003 it has 10,500 members. The environmental award scheme, the JMA, focuses on 'wild places' and has three levels of awards named Discovery, Explorer and Conserver. The stated purposes are education, social and personal development, and to encourage a youth-environmental agenda (John Muir Trust, 2003). Though the JMA scheme is an initiative of the John Muir Trust and the Trust has ultimate responsibility, the JMA is not solely financially dependent on the Trust and has its own offices with staff paid from other sources, so in this paper I consider the JMA as the organising body of the scheme.

Any independent group can receive the awards by working on their own projects, as long as they follow the scheme's guidelines. The JMA Gullane Group was formed through recruitment by Mandy Calder, the JMA East Lothian Regional Manager, and the JMA Tranent Group started with an initiative by a Tranent-born volunteer, Leigh Shearer and an employee of the Edinburgh Green Belt Trust (EGBT). Shearer had an interest in having young people engage in environmental issues, and took a JMA leader training course.

*The Green Team (GT)*

The GT is a non-profit organisation based in Edinburgh. It aims to promote young people's learning through programmes centred around conservation tasks in and around Edinburgh in Scotland. Local environmental entities such as the Historic Scotland Ranger Service and the EGBT support the programme by providing experts and resources. Volunteers take turns to lead the programmes (two to three 'leaders' each session), and participants are different each time. They involve participation throughout the region. The GT serves as a vehicle to achieve the JMA and the Duke of Edinburgh's Award[5].

*The National Trust for Scotland (NTS)*

The NTS is an environmental conservation organisation that aims to protect and promote Scotland's natural and cultural heritage by purchasing and maintaining important properties. For 22 years (as of 2002) they have organised volunteer work and conservation camps. The NTS has recently started camps specifically for young people aged 16 and 17 years old, called 'Trailblazer'. It also fits into the Duke of Edinburgh's Award's 'residential' element, a requirement for the Gold level.

**The Programme Descriptions**

All the four groups had conservation projects at the core of their work and used a variety of activities known as initiative and environmental games. Table 5.1 summarises the features of the programmes I observed.

Table 5.1 UK programmes: Summary

| Observed programmes | Dates & Places | Components of people | Style & structure | Programme Details |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The GT programmes<br><br>*Conducted in regions of East Lothian , Midlothian, West Lothian and Borders | 9-10 Feb 2002 Wiston | 12 YP (7f 5m) aged 15-25, 3 volunteer leaders (1m, 2f but one left on the 2nd day) | Stayed at a lodge in countryside converted from old building. Catered. Programme structured. | Many ice breaking & team-building games. Created a large sculpture with living willow. Cut out a 'pest' shrub for less than 1 hour. The programme was cut short due to illness of one participant and a leader. |
| | 17 Feb 2002 Tranent | 8 YP (8f) aged 12-23, 3 volunteer leaders, 1 ranger | Joined by JMA Tranent Group and a local person. Structured. | Building steps for a path, tree planting. Only one step was half built.<br>Some ice breaking games. |
| | 6-7 Apr 2002 St Abb's | 6 YP (5f 1m) aged 13-19, 3 volunteer leaders, 4 rangers | Stayed at outdoor centre. Self-catering. Structured. | Cleaning the beach, beach exploration, footpath maintenance. Some games linked to creativity and the environment. |
| | 15 Sep 2002 Kirkliston | 13YP (11f 2m) aged 15-20, 2 volunteer leaders | A day visit to the site, west of Edinburgh. Structured. | Built 6 perches (small stools for visitors) in a park to improve its recreational quality. The leaders were given written instructions, but were not fully informed. |
| JMA Gullane<br><br>* East Lothian | 17, 24 May, 17, 20 July, 20 Aug, 1 Oct 2001 Gullane & Aberlady | 9 YP at beginning down to 3 (2f 1m) at the end aged 15, 1 to 4 leaders (2 paid), 1 ranger | Visits to local sites. Contents decided with YP. Programme flexible | YP discussed what they wanted to do in the local environment, learnt about the local area, did some conservation work, and tried to share their experiences with public. That involved planning meetings, cleaning up a wooded area near the beach, visiting a nature reserve. Local ranger helped from time to time. |
| JMA Tranent<br><br>* East Lothian | 9, 30 Oct, 1, 14, 22 Nov, 1 Dec 2001, 21 Feb 2002 Birsley Brae in Tranent | 4 YP (4f) aged 12 - 13, 2 leaders (1 paid), 1 helper (paid) | Visits local sites. Contents decided with YP. Flexible | The same principle as above. That involved planning meetings, visiting various sites of the local area, cleaning the woodland, planting trees, maintaining the woodland, making a presentation at the town library. |
| Kintail Trailblazer [NTS]<br><br>*Highland | 17-24 Aug 2002 Kintail, Western Highlands of Scotland, UK | 8 YP aged 16-17 (4f 4m), 2 leaders(f m), 2 rangers(m) | Stayed at a well-equipped accommodation near the project site. Self-catering. Moderate-highly physical. Programme structured | Participants gathered from various parts of the country in 'remote' countryside. Structured around a conservation task of footpath maintenance. A day-off in the middle. |

*f – female, m – male *YP – young people/person (participants) *GT – the Green Team
*JMA – the John Muir Award *NTS – the National Trust for Scotland

The two JMA groups worked on their own local environment, and the objectives and contents were largely decided by the participants themselves rather than by organisers. Nonetheless, the JMA has programme guidelines that all groups should follow to attain awards[6] and the initiative was based on the educational philosophy of 'Hand, Heart and Head'. This concept was presented 100 years ago by Geddes, who believed in experiential learning in daily life (Boardman, 1944) and suggested that not only the knowledge (Head) but also practicality and affective development (Head, Heart and Hand combined) was vitally important in education (Geddes, 1904).

Plate 5.1 An entrance to the wood where JMA Tranent group worked on (Left). A motorway is nearby and a large power station is in the back on the photo

The Tranent Group's main task was to improve a woodland by removing rubbish and planting saplings, whereas the Gullane Group decided to clean up a hidden area near the beach which was vandalised by visitors including their young peers. Besides the conservation task, they had exploration walks and some environmental games. Towards the end of the programme which lasted for six months, the Tranent Group put on an exhibition of their work at the town library to raise people's awareness of the issue. Though both programmes were conducted in their own towns, many participants did not know that the particular sites existed or did not know them well. The programmes were operated in a flexible manner. The two groups were small in size, and led by mainly local residents. During the period, the Gullane Group reduced in size from 13 to three, with between one to four leaders for each session, and the Tranent Group consisted of four students with two to three adults. Most participants in both groups already knew each other beforehand. There was no overnight activity involved nor any participation fee.

The GT organised nine overnight programmes and nine day programmes in 2002. Participation was free for one-day programmes and £20 for overnight programmes. They were planned by an employed coordinator, whereas the GT leaders of each project were all volunteers. Due to vehicle capacity limitations they usually took a maximum of 13 participants with two volunteer leaders. The leaders drove the participants to certain spots with all the necessary equipment. Though the places were all in the local vicinity, most participants were visiting the sites for the first time.

Usually neither participants nor leaders were from the communities where the projects were carried out. Most participants met each other for the first time at the projects, but some joined in as small friends' groups. Each programme had conservation tasks to be fulfilled. As with the JMA groups, many environmental and team building games were blended in. In two of the four programmes I observed, local Rangers came along to the site, but two of the groups were on their own, and had only written guidance to work out their conservation task. When self-catering was involved, the cooking was planned to take account of environmental issues. Whenever appropriate such as at the dinner table, some volunteer leaders conveyed the environmental messages to the participants informally. Though these messages were not 'planned', they helped to integrate an environmental focus throughout. The programmes were structured and operated according to a plan with a certain level of flexibility linked to the weather and people's overall condition.

Plate 5.2 The Green Team cleans up a beach in south east Scotland

The NTS's Kintail Trailblazer had eight participants, four girls and four boys, and two leaders who were both employees of the NTS. The participation numbers and gender distribution was intentional. Four came from England, and for one of them it was her first time in Scotland. They paid £80 to participate, excluding individual travel costs to the meeting point in Edinburgh from where it was a whole day's journey to the Western Highlands. While the other study programmes provided 'conservation experiences', with many games and the purpose of raising environmental awareness, the Kintail Trailblazer was a working camp focused on achieving a conservation task at a certain level. They spent eight days together, including travelling, working and cooking. Each day after work the organisers drove the group to a site that they thought to be of interest. The entire period had a natural life-flow. There were no orchestrated activities such as group games, but the participants entertained themselves with cards, playing 'frisbee' and chatted amongst themselves until late. The programme was structured around the conservation project with some flexibility depending on people's condition and the weather. Probably because it was the NTS's property, and was considered as the NTS's work, there was no local community involvement. The group mostly occupied the accommodation, which was owned by the NTS, and they cooked for themselves, but there were hardly any explicit environmental messages regarding the cooking, rubbish, energy usage and way of life.

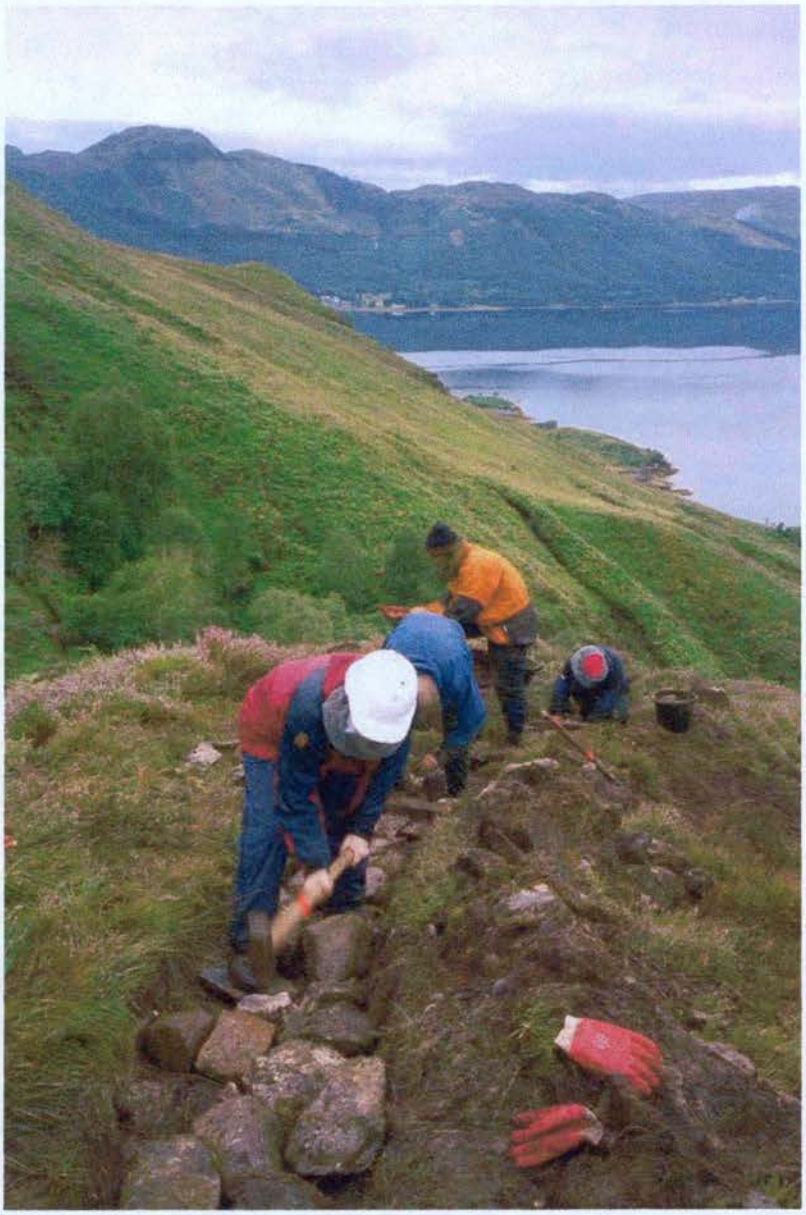


Plate 5.3 The Kintail Trailblazer group improves a footpath

## Rationale of the Programmes

This section explores the rationales of the programmes. In addition to the published documents of the organisations and the programmes, interviews with organisers of the study groups were the chief source of information concerning programme rationale. All semi-structured interviews were conducted either after several sessions or at the end of the whole programmes. Besides the semi-structured interviews, I had numerous informal interviews and conversations with the organisers during the study. The interviews were conducted with Sue MacKenzie of the NTS, Mandy Calder of the JMA Gullane Group, Leigh Shearer of the JMA Tranent Group and Penny Radway of the GT. MacKenzie was a co-leader of the study group (Kintail Trailblazer) and the NTS's regional education officer, and involved in initiating the Trailblazer scheme. Calder formed the Gullane Group, served as a main leader during programme meetings and worked as the JMA's regional manager. Shearer was one of the main organisers and leaders of the Tranent Group. Radway worked as the project coordinator for the GT. She did not actually lead any programmes during my fieldwork period, but was involved in designing and planning them, as well as organising volunteer leaders training sessions.

**Background of the Programmes**

Their interview accounts suggest that they shared interrelated concerns for the environment, the young people and the materialistic lifestyle. The organisers considered that both the local and global environment need more attention. For example, Shearer deplored the poor condition of some areas in Tranent littered with dumped cars and other waste, pointing at a lack of environmental awareness and ethics among people. Expressing a global environmental concern, Radway believed that the solution to it must start with local areas and individuals. The organisers suggested that consumerism and poverty may be linked to local environmental problems. For example, Calder stated that just like consumers buy and own commodities, they may consider that they own and control the environment.

Their perception that young people in general lack environmental concern was based on their experiences and observation. This view is supported by a survey on environmental issues in Scotland, which showed that people aged between 16 and 24 considered environmental issues to be less important than any other age group (System Three, 2000). One in four (27%) saw the environmental issues as not important, compared with between 15% and 19% for other age groups. Only 15% said the issues were very important, compared with 40% for people aged 45-54. Table 5.2 illustrates how the perceived importance of environmental issues varied with age.

Table 5.2 Importance of environmental issues by age (System Three, 2000)

| | 16-24 (%) | 25-34 (%) | 35-44 (%) | 45-54 (%) | 55-64 (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Very important | 15 | 16 | 30 | 40 | 39 |
| Quite important | 56 | 66 | 55 | 42 | 43 |
| Not very important | 26 | 16 | 12 | 16 | 12 |
| Not at all important | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 7 |

n = 1030 (All figures are rounded to the nearest integer.)

In addition to a lack of environmental interest and awareness among young people, the programme organisers perceived a detachment from the environment, suggesting that many young people do not have substantial outdoor experiences. As MacKenzie put it, "I think more and more young people are not in touch with the landscape" (S. MacKenzie, 24 Aug 2002). They appeared to relate this detachment to a lack of interest in the environment.

Apart from environmental perspectives, most organisers commented on 'bored youths' who didn't have interesting things to do in their daily life, which they suggested would lead some into trouble. Shearer expressed her concern for social deviancy among some sections of young people and said it would be beneficial to focus "their attention in something worthwhile [combined with the environment] rather than bad things" (L. Shearer, 24 Feb 2002).

In summary, the programme organisers held common concerns about the degradation of both the local and global environment due to people's lifestyle and attitudes in

industrial nations; a notion of sustainability evident in the linkage between lifestyle and environmental problems. They acknowledged that, in general, young people lacked experiences outdoors as well as interest in and awareness of environmental issues. They also claimed that some young people caused social problems simply because they have nothing else to do. They suggested it was possible to 'kill two birds with one stone' by organising environmental programmes and occupying the young people with something worthwhile.

**Objectives of the Programmes**

Having analysed the organisers' accounts, their objective was seen to be related to a desire to instil pro-environmental behaviour in the young participants, to encourage them to 'care for' the environment. Based on their experiences, they believed environmental behaviour is based on their attachment and love for the environment, which can be nurtured by educational programmes. Consequently they hoped that young people would 'look after' the environment, manifested in conservation and preservation. The following comment includes many of these elements:

> ... the basic objective is...to make people more aware of what's going on, and what difference they can make, and how to improve their environment to make a better place...I think it comes down to make it a better place for other people to enjoy and to make it more pleasant experience. Then if they enjoy it, they would want to make a difference, would want to make sure it stays in the condition that is in. (L. Shearer, 24 Feb 2002)

There is a substantial body of research that considers educational interventions influencing environmental behaviour (Bradley, Waliczek, & Zajice, 1999; Eagles & Demare, 1999; Gilbertson, 1990; Schindler, 1999; Zelezny, 1999). The argument for developing affective relationships with nature has been stressed by many scholars (Cooper, 1994; Higgins, 1996a, 1997; Mortlock, 1984; Nicol & Higgins, 1998b; Rubens, 1998) and some major international environmental reports (IUCN, 1980; IUCN et al., 1991). Higgins (1996a), for example, states that educational programmes outdoors can encourage an emotional connection with the natural environment, which leads to responsible behaviour towards the environment as well as sustainable practices. The extent to which such claims are justified is difficult to determine and they are often offered from personal experiences. Nonetheless the claim is powerful and in fact not new in the sense that environmentalists in the past such as Henry David Thoreau and Rachel Carson also purported this in their writings.

The elements shown in the organisers' accounts which they believed that such outdoor programmes should provide in order to achieve their objectives include: fun, engagement with the environment, learning about nature, appreciation of nature, realisation of the consequences of one's actions, and profound outdoor experiences. The following comment exemplifies their conviction:

> ...if you can encourage people to appreciate the wonder of the environment that we live in, our natural heritage, and how special it is...the very next step goes hand in hand that you don't want to destroy it, you don't want to harm it in any way. So it's not so much campaigning...it's really more...having the relationship with nature. Because you don't hurt things you love. I think that is what we are trying to engender.
> (P. Radway, 18 June 2002)

The organisers all referred to 'building relationships with the environment' as fundamental to developing pro-environmental attitudes. However, it was not explicit in any official statements of the programme's objectives. One organiser stated that while it was "a likely outcome of the programme", it was "not as conscious as being as an aim" (P. Radway, personal communication, 9 Feb 2003). Another said it would be an 'advanced level', suggesting the members of the group she dealt with were young and just beginning environmental work.

The relationships with the environment that they hoped to see nurtured were described as 'connection to' and 'respect for'. They claimed that enhancing such relationships leads to 'wanting to look after and preserve'. During the actual programmes, however, I observed that active and conscious efforts aimed at building such relationships only occurred sporadically. Organisers either waited "for the moment to come up" (S. MacKenzie, 24 Aug 2002) to assist in building the connection, or assumed the connection would happen by having the young people engaged in the environment through conservation tasks. Radway, from the GT,

suggested that their environmental games, walks, exploring and other activities were all used to "engender an understanding and love of nature" that might "syntactically mean building a relationship" (P. Radway, personal communication, 9 Feb 2003). The difficulty with the GT, however, is that there is the possibility that Radway's philosophy, which underpins the programmes and activities, may be interpreted differently by the various volunteer leaders. Even if the purpose is to instil pro-environmental attitudes through building relationships, the programmes can be run only in a way that the people in charge understand.

There was a distinction in the interview data between a relationship 'with the environment' and 'with a place'. Some groups, such as the two JMA groups, concentrated on particular places. Nonetheless, the organisers all seemed to hope that the participants expanded their pro-environmental attitude to not only a particular place but to the environment in general, and one stated the view that a relationship can be built with a place rather than with a concept of the environment. This point is discussed with respect to the participants' accounts in a later section.

Linked to the point above, the concept of locality and connection to daily life is probably the most distinctive difference between the Kintail Trailblazer programme and that of the other groups. The two JMA groups and the GT intentionally held their programmes locally, relating that it was fundamental to

make a connection with 'their own backyard'. They considered it as persuasive to tell the participants: this is your own place, thus you should care. The other reasoning included: 'you would benefit from improving the area'; 'if it is left neglected, it's you who would encounter hazards, so you had better care for it'.

These were from efforts to link the participants with the place and make sense of the conservation work with which they were engaging. The organisers expressed the view that people tend to consider the important natural habitat as somewhere else, and as a consequence, the local environment gets neglected. From the interviews with them, it became clear that by carrying out the projects locally and making a link between them and the area, they wanted to convey a message that the whole environment is important and that young people can make a difference.

Apart from pro-environmental attitude, MacKenzie implied that identity, culture and history were aspects of 'connection' with the land. Two organisers mentioned 'ownership' in respect of the relationship that they wanted to build between the participants and the environment. Calder explained that personal involvement in a certain place creates a feeling, which is expressed as 'ownership', a sense of that "there is a little bit of me there, I am part of this environment. So it is the connection rather than I *own* this" (M. Calder, 20 April 2002). This suggests an issue of identity as argued for by researchers who relate meaningful interaction with

a place and personal identity (Fredrickson & Anderson, 1999; Relph, 1976). Nonetheless, identity tended to be seen not as cultural, historical or social being, but solely as an individual matter. Despite the history of the Scottish landscape, cultural and historical dimensions were not highlighted in most of the educational programmes I observed. An exception was one GT project where participants described an occasion when they took part in the restoration of 'original' Scottish pine forest.

All organisers also mentioned young people's social and personal development. MacKenzie viewed it as one of their main aims, whereas others saw it as a natural outcome of the programmes. I noticed during the interviews that personal and social development was stated in the context of purely individual growth and achievement, and it was not necessarily linked to community identity.

**Organisers' Assumptions Regarding Environmental Behaviour**

The organisers stressed that to keep the young people's interest in the environment, and to have them learn more effectively, the experiences had to be 'fun'. Their first assumption has two parts: if it is fun, they will come back; if they are having a good time, they are more receptive to learning about the environment.

Second, knowledge about the environment and appreciation of it would contribute to building a 'relationship' with the environment. Moreover, being in and engaging

with the environment would naturally help them connect with it. Calder stressed the multi-layered way of building a relationship as follows:

> ...because they are going to a place on a weekly or fortnight basis, whatever. So they have got that physical connection. Then they start to explore it, so the cognitive and sensory aspects are kicking in as well. So looking at things different ways. We are obviously talking about it when we are there as well. As for conserving, we are actually doing something for that place as well. So it is not really for them at all, but if you take a wider aspect it is for them because it is for the planet. So I think the connection is happening in different strands. (M. Calder, 20 April 2002)

The third assumption is that once a relationship is established, the environment will be protected. This was expressed in different ways such as 'you don't hurt things you love'. The scrutiny of this assumption from various cultural perspectives would be a separate research topic. In this paper, the discussion is based in the context of the educational programmes in Scotland and their participants.

Finally, there is another belief strongly expressed by one organiser. Radway maintained that profound experiences at a young age could have a fundamental and long lasting affect by saying:

> ...if you have formative experiences, you may not do anything more to do with the environment or conservation for a very very long time, but when you are a voting adult, or someone who can make a difference in the world by joining the organisation, or having an opinion or something,

you may relate it back to that kind of formative experiences you had as a young person. (P. Radway, 18 June 2002)

It was her own feeling based on her experiences, but it is supported by a body of research on 'Significant Life Experience', which suggests that the first factor of influencing a person to become pro-environmental is childhood experiences of nature (Palmer, 1996; Palmer et al., 1998; Sward, 1999). In this branch of research, however, it has been suggested that cultural influences need to be studied much further (Chawla, 1998a, 1998b).

## Parents' Views

A total of 14 parents, including both parents of one participant, were interviewed after their children completed interviews. Six interviews were conducted by telephone, and the rest were in person in their homes, the programme sites or coffee shops in town. Three were fathers and 11 were mothers. Though the interviews covered a wide range of issues, this section concentrates on the perception of the parents on the programme values and the influence over their children.

### Values of the Programmes

The values parents perceived and articulated concerning the programmes were categorised into three spheres: educational, social and personal.

*Educational*

From an educational perspective all the parents valued the programmes highly. They appreciated the programmes' objective of raising environmental awareness and that their children were learning about the environment and gaining new skills. Some said it was a good way to put theory into practice. In fact 11 of 14 parents said that their children were interested in the environment before involvement in the programmes. One parent said she was not a 'green person' herself, implying that she did not consciously practise pro-environmental behaviour.

Some considered working with their peers and with adults who were not teachers or family members encouraged children's active learning. They considered that the programmes helped widen children's experiences and views to include a focus on life other than material things. They also said it was an important lesson for young people to work without getting paid for the environment or for society. Some examples of the parental comments in this category are:

> I think the most valuable thing he's got from the GT is the fact that he's learnt quite a lot about plants and trees, which I value myself. It's a sort of thing that I had talked to him about before, but he seems to really take in on board, because I think, to be honest, he's been working with people in his own age group rather than his parent telling him. (Parent of GT group, 12 Sep 2002)

> The camp like that would allow young people to see different focus, not only materialistic life. In that sense she has

developed that area. That is what the camp experience can offer. (Parent of NTS group, 9 Sep 2002)

*Social*

In the social sphere, they welcomed interaction with other people from different walks of life beyond their school mates and families. Some referred to young people's social problems in general and said engaging in such programmes was good 'instead of hanging out the street corners'. Some said it helped their school work as programme activities had a direct link to the school activities.

*Personal*

In the personal sphere, the parents described their children's enjoyment of the programmes: "...and the enthusiasm with which they've come back and told us all about the weekend and efforts, the social sides as well as work side, obviously they've enjoyed all of it" (Parent of GT group, 2 Oct. 2002). They considered the involvement in the programmes as healthy. One stated it was a worthwhile experience as a whole, and the child had achieved what she set out to do in the year. Some mentioned that the programme taught self-responsibility through working together and cooking for themselves. A few mentioned that the programmes helped the children achieve awards, which the parents encouraged.

**Perceived Influence**

The parents' views varied greatly concerning the perceived effect on their children. While everyone stated that the programmes were valuable for many different reasons, nine parents (four of five from the NTS group, four of five from the Tranent group, and one of four from the GT group) stated that they found no significant immediate impact on their children from the programmes at the time of the interviews.

> I have to say she is the same person as she was before. She is a motivated person anyway, and it may have contributed to her maturing process, but it was not directly because of the camp, but may be from the fact that she had done all the exams she was pressured, and other things happening in her life. (Parent of NTS group, 9 Sep 2002)

> ...there is no change at all. She's been away from home since eight (years old) anyway, so a week away from home doesn't affect her. I think people can get an idea to be more aware of the surroundings, and also of working together. But my child has been doing it already. A week is very brief, it's too brief to learn, and they are too young to be conscious of learning. (Parent of NTS group, 24 Sep 2002)

Some parents from the NTS group said that as soon as their children returned from the programme they became engaged in something else before they had an opportunity to talk much about the Trailblazer experiences. It is possible that they did not have enough time to observe their children. The fact that some participants were in residential schools and did not usually live with their parents also made it

harder to perceive change. It must be also noted that the NTS offered a one-week residential programme, whereas the other programmes took place on and off over months. Nonetheless, most parents stated that the experiences seemed to have reinforced their initial tendency to engage with the outdoors.

The influence perceived by the rest of the parents (one from the Tranent group, one from the NTS Group, three from the GT group) included environmental awareness and attitude (i.e. more willingness to recycle), desire to be outdoors, personal skills, attitudes and learning about themselves, the environment, and conservation work. As 'changes' in their children under the category of 'perceived influence', they mentioned their children being more confident, open minded, helpful, organised, enthusiastic, having a wider understanding of social and environmental issues, and being more physically fit.

**Parents and Community Involvement**

There was no local community involvement in the NTS project. On one occasion the GT project was joined by the JMA Tranent and a local person who had worked in the woodland for some time. The JMA Gullane had the limited involvement of one parent. In all cases, the local communities' involvement was close to nil, despite conscious efforts (except by the NTS) to have more community members involved.

All JMA Tranent participants took their parents to the site, which was near where they lived, to show it to them. Two parents said until then they did not know that the patch of woodland existed. During the interviews the parents praised what the group did and one parent said when the group finished working on it, "whether the place goes back to the way it was, or people use it, that is the next step for kids" (Parent of JMA Tranent Group, 17 Feb 2002). There were no comments from the parents to suggest that they were considering involvement with their children, and they seemed to view these programmes as purely for their children's experiences.

## Participants' Views

This section reviews the characteristics of the interviewees, including the young people's background outdoor experiences. Their motivations and views of the experiences are then discussed.

### Sources of Analysis

The main source of analysis was from interviews with programme participants. To corroborate the analysis, I utilised field data such as conversations with participants and my own observations.

As shown in Table 3.1, 19 young people aged between 12 and 17 were interviewed (seven boys and 12 girls). At the time of their participation, four lived in England

and 15 lived in Scotland. Only two said they were English, two (with Indian backgrounds) said they were British and one said she was a Czech. The rest said they were Scottish, though some of their parents were English, and some were born and partly raised in England. Most of them said, as their parents suggested, that before participating they already had an interest in the environment.

However, during the interviews and in other field data, six young people demonstrated very weak interest in the environment previously and/or at the time of interview. For example, one participant was asked whether s/he was interested in the environment, and answered "Not in particular" (EF, 23 Aug 2002). Her statement accorded with her other statements during the interviews, conversations and answers in the written questionnaires and her interest in the environment was clearly 'weak'. Other than these six young people, several stated an interest in the environment but this was not substantiated from interview accounts and observations.

Judging from my home visits, conversations with both the participants and their parents, the status of their schools and reputation of the area they lived in, the majority of the families (but not all) seemed to be 'middle class'. Even though some organisers wanted to involve young people who had nothing to do, most of them attracted to the programmes were clearly busy doing a variety of activities every day.

**Participants' Outdoor Experiences**

Having lived in a town or city environment and being students, most participants' outdoor experiences were limited to holiday times when families took them out to the natural environment[7] or country parks. Several participants claimed to have no significant engagement in outdoor activities. Of those who did, the most popular activities were walking (sometimes with a dog) and bike-riding. Some boys were in the Scouts or Cadets and had occasionally engaged in camping and outdoor activities. Some had a strong interest in being outdoors and some in bird-watching, though their opportunities were limited due to their age and home location.

Overall their experiences and opportunities outdoors were somewhat limited, and there appeared to be little direct engagement and involvement with the natural environment. All the young people had their first experience of conservation tasks with the programme.

**Motivation for Participation**

Participation in the various programmes was generally voluntary but it was often on the recommendation and encouragement of teachers and parents. Some people chose the specific programmes or organisations based on price, reputation, timing and programme sites. What motivated them to participate, however, could be

categorised into the social, environmental or personal sphere. Many had complex motivations.

*Social*

All the participants, except one each from the GT and the Kintail Trailblazer, stated that their main drive was to do an award scheme, mainly the Duke of Edinburgh's Award. Many admitted that they would not have become involved in the programme unless it was for the award. The 'exceptional' GT participant was from Czech Republic, staying in Scotland for a year, and was not interested in gaining a UK award. The stated intention of the Kintail Trailblazer participant not in an award scheme was to boost her CV with involvement in voluntary work. To attain the 'next level of the award' was the motivation for the two participants of the JMA Gullane, though like the JMA Tranent participants they were not initially aware of the award scheme when they first started. Clearly for most participants getting an award was the main objective, and they chose a particular programme based on their outdoor interest (not necessarily an interest in the environment), timing and duration. Helping school work and spending time with new and old friends were also mentioned.

*Environmental*

Six interviewees suggested their interest in conservation work and nature as their motivation to participate, combined with the primary motivation of working towards

an award. This was often mentioned alongside their longing for 'countryside', or a desire to do something in the outdoors. Three people who lived in England referred to their fondness for Scotland linked to its countryside and people.

*Personal*

A sense of adventure and 'time away' were also mentioned as motivations. One participant said "it was just something to do because we have not many activities" (DB, 24 Oct 2002) in their daily life. Similar phrases occurred during other conversations at the beginning of the programme in Gullane. Thus the organisers' comments that many young people were bored without much to do was verified for at least certain groups of young people.

**Views on their Experiences**

*Enjoyment*

Everyone who was interviewed said they enjoyed their experiences, often in a general sense, and most participants enjoyed 'contributing' to or 'making a difference' to the environment. Some examples are: "It was not sort of skipping and smiling type of fun. It was fun where you feel you were doing something good" (BN, 12 Sep 2002); "Making a difference, knowing that's going to either improve the environment, or allow other people to access and appreciate" (QH, 17 Sep 2002). They generally also enjoyed each other's company. About half of the participants said they enjoyed the work itself and being outside.

*Learning*

Having been asked what they learnt through the programmes, 17 of 19 participants said learning about the natural environment. Though it tended to be at a superficial level, such as learning the names of plants and shells, this can be considered as significant for someone like DB. From having had no previous interest in the environment, DB had learnt "different plants and different parts of nature" and understood "a lot more what goes on" (DB, 24 Oct 2001) in the environment after the programme. Some claimed deeper learning of inter-relationships in the ecosystem: for example, QH said the programmes strengthened his knowledge of flowers and he learnt "names, how they function, and which insects prefer them" (17 Sep 2002).

Thirteen respondents referred to learning linked to human-nature relationships, including human impact on the environment. NS (2 Oct 2002) said that she realised that the current heather-covered landscape in Scotland was a result of human activities. AM said he learnt "just how much we, as human beings, have disturbed what was there before we arrived" (12 Sep 2002).

Naturally their learning was strongest about the area and things they had worked on. For example, all eight Kintail Trailblazer participants said they learnt more about a mountain footpath than anything else, including why and how it was constructed.

Having sweated enough themselves, they recognised the tremendous effort that was put into maintaining a path. The JMA Tranent Group mentioned learning about Birsley Brae, a woodland they had explored and worked on. Linked to this, many mentioned practical conservation skills, including planting trees and how to use certain tools. The members of the Kintail Trailblazer, who catered for themselves, also said they learnt about cooking.

They commented on social aspects of learning, mainly learning about self. Some realised how little they actually knew about nature despite their interest, and others recognised for the first time what they were capable of and their limitations. Several people touched on different values and drew lessons about life from the experiences such as "not to judge people on first impressions" (EF, 23 Aug 2002); "what you put in, you get out" (DX, 23 Aug 2002); and "if you spend [enough] time [in one place and with one thing], you see a different side to it" (GX, 17 Feb 2002).

*Perceived Influence*

Five participants whose parents did not perceive the programmes as having any new influence on their children did themselves feel influenced, though one of them saw a reinforcement of the values he already held. The effects participants claimed are subtle in nature and may not be easily recognisable by others. For example, some said they would now walk more carefully on footpaths, but parents would not have noticed this in their daily life. Other examples of perceived influences included: "it

made me think of what I can do with materials...make simple stuff out of simple things just lying around" (GX, 17 Feb 2002); "I never appreciated all the nice landscapes and castles. Just talking with them [the participants from England] made me appreciate more" (EF, 23 Aug 2002); and "it influences me to watch and take care paths" (XH, 23 Aug 2002).

On the other hand, three other participants said they did not detect any influence, whereas two parents of these three mentioned 'small changes' in them. The third participant's (DB) interview showed influence, though she said she perceived no effect herself. DB, when asked directly if she perceived any influence, said "ehm...not really. I did not get that much influence from it" (DB, 24 Oct 2002). However, being asked if she does something differently because of the experiences, she answered "I don't litter anymore. Before [the programme] you don't think anything about it, but now being actually involved, then that is when you start thinking like if I do that, or I shouldn't do it now..." (DB, 24 Oct 2002). DB said "I would never have done things" which would lead her to an environmental award, and said "I learnt a lot more than what I had for years" (DB, 24 Oct. 2002). In discussing plans for activities over the course, I observed DB being very active in expressing her opinions on what to do to raise people's awareness. She showed serious engagement in the environmental scheme, and judging from the data I gathered, DB demonstrated effects from the programme, though she may not have perceived them.

Their perceived influence was mostly concentrated on environmental aspects, including increasing environmental awareness, behavioural changes and a sense of place. Twelve participants stated or demonstrated during the interview that they became more aware of the environment because of the programme experiences. Stated behavioural changes include 'not breaking a twig off a tree' from the experience of tree planting, 'stopping someone from dropping litter', 'not littering any longer', 'listening to news on the environment', etc. Eight interviewees suggested that they felt much closer to the place and knew it well. However, only one member of the Kintail Trailblazer programme showed attachment to the area. This may relate to approach, to whether or not there was an explicit attempt to connect the participants with the place, to the time that spent, or to the distance from the participants' homes.

Of the six people who claimed weak interest in the environment before the programme, two stated during the interviews that after participation they remained uninterested. Another person said she was interested but failed to substantiate this claim when asked more details. One of them implied that she began to appreciate the Scottish scenery. However, this was not developed enough for her to call it an interest in the environment. Two of these six said that due to participation, they now think they should stay on a footpath when walking, but their statement seems mainly to have come from a recognition of efforts to maintain the footpath rather

than environmental concerns. For example, XH said "...watch and take care paths...don't take it for granted, and thinking how much work that's been put in. Look after countryside" (23 Aug 2002).

Furthermore, in some cases, their raised environmental awareness and concerns were restricted to what they did during the programmes, and their interests did not go beyond the task they were involved in. The environmental awareness of three of the six people appeared to begin to change, but one fell into this 'restricted interest' category. Here is an example of her comment;

> TT: Do you want to know more about wildlife?
> DB: Not really. I think it is like...I have got enough now, thinking about stuff we are doing with John Muir [the JMA], finding out quite a lot in that. I wouldn't be interested in bird-watching now, anything like that. It kinda bores me when I think about that. [looking really negative] Well, I am doing John Muir [the JMA], and I think that is just about as much...things that I get interested in just now. (24 Oct 2002)

DB was from the JMA groups, and, for her, engaging with the scheme equals being involved in the environmental activities.

Though their behavioural change and awareness may be restricted to certain areas such as littering, the experiences seemed to have nurtured a general 'caring' attitude. There were times during the programme when KN thought what he was doing was

boring but "now I think it's your world, ey, you don't want to waste it. And that's totally different [from how I was thinking]" (24 Oct 2001).

Some interview accounts indicate that their involvement in environmental activities stopped when they had done enough for an award. The programme experiences do not appear to have changed any aspects of these people's daily lives. In this respect, the programmes appeared to have failed to touch the fundamental values of some people whose environmental interest was shallow. This seemed particularly so in the case of the short duration programme conducted away from home. Local programmes involving local organisers over a substantial period of time seemed to have a recognisable effect on the participants. The reasons for the difference are not clear. It may be due to the background of participants or the case of making a link between the activities and daily life. One participant of a local programme started simply to acquire the awards, but the experiences affected her way of thinking in terms of the environment, claming that now she repeated the programmes "just for the fun of it" and getting an award became secondary (NR, 16 Sep 2002).

*Personal and Social Development*

Personal and Social development (PSD) is considered "a fundamental aspect of the education of the whole child" (Scottish Office Education Department, 1993c, p. 1) and has been much talked about from perspectives of experiential learning. PSD embraces many different concepts such as "personal growth, self-actualisation and

maturity" (Hopkins & Putnam, 1993, p. 11) and they have continued to be some of the main aims in outdoor education (Hopkins & Putnam, 1993; Nicol, 2001; Parker & Meldrum, 1973). There are arguments to link PSD to environmental attitudes (Cooper, 1991, 1994; Mortlock, 1984), suggesting that a person is more likely to develop a caring attitude to the environment if s/he has self-respect and self-esteem.

I found the framework provided by the Scottish Office Education Department (1993c) useful. They suggest PSD is essentially concerned with self-awareness, self-esteem, inter-personal relationships, and independence and inter-dependence (Scottish Office Education Department, 1993c, p. 5). Building on this framework, Higgins and Nicol discuss these terms in relation to outdoor activities (Higgins & Nicol, 2002). They describe 'self-esteem' as to do with people feeling good about themselves, and suggest that 'self awareness' has a values and action context. This means that one statement cannot be judged under a definition of 'self-awareness' without understanding the context of society and culture to which the statement belongs. 'Interpersonal relations' as suggested by Higgins and Nicol (2002) involve roles, skills, attitudes and values which enable persons and groups to interact effectively. 'Independence and inter-dependence' means an awareness and recognition of dependence and to meet personal and social challenge (Scottish Office Education Department, 1993c).

Borrowing this framework, 17 of 19 interviewees touched on an aspect of PSD that linked directly to their experiences. Most related to 'self-esteem' such as a sense of achievement in completing a task, making a difference and contribution to the environment and people who are concerned. Typical comments included; "I found it was quite good to make a difference by planting trees...it was fun just to take part in it, knowing you are having some impact on this landscape" (BN, 12 Sep 2002); "Very good to see the work done, and think it was you who made a difference" (MO, 29 June 2002), and "It was just a tremendous feeling at the end of it. I was proud of doing it, and we didn't want anyone to touch the steps [we worked on]" (NQ, 16 Sep 2002). They enjoyed it and they felt good about themselves. Some referred to 'inter-dependence' as they completed a task as a team.

Most organisers of the study groups placed PSD as consequential in their aims, focusing on environmental perspectives as a priority. They viewed PSD as important but considered a pro-environmental attitude as a manifestation of the social and personal growth of an individual. The analysis of the participant interviews suggests that PSD could result from an environmental programme even if it is not designed specifically for PSD. On the other hand, whether environmental outcomes may be spontaneously generated in outdoor programmes which focus on PSD rather than environmental perspectives is a question which requires a separate study.

## Young People's Relationships with the Environment

The earlier section illustrated the participants' relationships with the environment directly linked to the programmes. In order to explore how participants perceived the environment independent of the programme exposure, I analysed their interview accounts, drawing categories from Peter Kahn's (1999) study. During eight years of research among young people in diverse geographical locations, Kahn developed categories of justification for environmental preservation (Kahn, 1999). Building on his coding system for this study, Table 5.3 shows categories of interviewees' perceptions of the environment. A brief definition of each category is given in the Table, and examples are shown in parentheses. Comments sometimes came as direct replies to my questions such as: "Do you consider plants are important part of your life? Why?" Moreover, all comments during interviews that indicated perceptions of the environment were marked and categorised.

The definitions of 'anthropocentric' and 'biocentric', shown in Table 5.3, are modified from Kahn's (1999). It is often argued that anthropocentrism as an ontological position is linked to environmental problems (Dobson, 1995; Martell, 1994; Pratt et al., 2000). Its meanings and implications are much debated (Dobson, 1995; Martell, 1994; O'Neill, 1993; Taylor, 1989), and generally environmentalists tend to see a biocentric attitude as more 'commendable' than an anthropocentric one. However in the present study I found this dichotomy unhelpful. Most comments of

respective interviewees, with two exceptions, could be categorised as anthropocentric or biocentric, depending on the topics they were talking about, suggesting that individual relationships with the environment are complex.

Table 5.3: Summary of perceptions of the environment: UK participants

(Coding system after Kahn, 1999)

| | |
|---|---|
| **1 Anthropocentric**<br>An account of how the environment affects human beings. | |
| **Personal** | An appeal to personal predilections, interests and projects. (e.g."I really like plants. They are nice"; "I liked to have fresh air and always be in nature") |
| **Relational** | An appeal to a relationship between humans and nature which serves human needs. It includes responsibility, intimacy and companionship. (e.g."I've always been around them (pets), and I have cats in my bed at night, and dogs to take for a walk and they greet you when you come into the house") |
| **Welfare** | An appeal to the physical, material and psychological welfare of human beings. (e.g."Plants are most important because I eat them"; "Trees are not gonna annoy you. It's a nice way to de-stress". |
| **Aesthetic** | Viewing and experiencing for human pleasure. (e.g. "It's great to see trees, lush plants and animals"; "I thought it was very pretty. I began to understand more why people would come to Scotland") |
| **Justice** | An appeal that humans have rights and deserve ownership. (e.g."I don't think it's right to build all these houses. Keep the countryside for people to enjoy") |
| **2 Biocentric**<br>An appeal to a larger ecological community of which humans may be a part. | |
| **Justice** | Nature has rights, deserves respect or fair treatment. (e.g."They (nature) have a life just as we have, and we should respect that") |
| **Intrinsic value** | Nature has value, and the validity of that value is not derived solely from human interests. (e.g. "Nature exists for itself"; "Animals are always there. They run about freely and enjoy the places") |
| **Harmonious relationship** | An appeal to a biocentric concept of harmony between humans and nature. (e.g."Humans need to learn to live in harmony with nature. Then there is no need to protect and help") |
| **Nature's power** | An appeal to nature's power. (e.g."It is impossible to try to control nature because has such power") |
| **3 Unelaborated appeals to the welfare of nature and relationships between humans and the environment**<br>(e.g."I learnt how much we as human beings have disturbed what was there before we arrived"; "We rely on them [animals] and they rely on us") | |
| **4 Passive interest**<br>Interest in the environment is restricted, temporary and selective. It carries a general passive feeling towards the environment. (e.g."I am doing John Muir [JMA], and I think that is just about as much [environmental] things that I get interested in just now") | |

Therefore, while the ontological debate about these two terms is important, this study situates them as 'perspectives' rather than ontological positions, and one person can have either stance depending on the context. The discussion on anthropocentrism and biocentrism is returned to in Chapter 9 with regard to indigenous peoples.

'Being outside' is a fundamental condition for these programmes. From interview accounts, 'being out' for the young people seemed to be equivalent to 'being out of town', which has the implication of going into an unfamiliar environment. The concepts that the interviewees associated with 'being out' can be categorised into four broad areas; educational, interests in wildlife, personal aspect, and well-being. Most accounts belonged to the 'well-being' category which included enjoyment, fresh air and quietness, aesthetics and a sense of freedom. Enjoyment refers to going to new places, physical activities and a break from the city environment or daily life. All participants subscribed to the view that 'countryside or nature' is somewhere people go to enjoy. Nevertheless, though quite a few participants said they considered that humans were part of nature, only one account clearly expressed a sense of 'oneness' related to outdoor experiences. As described earlier, the expression of 'connection' experienced during the programme was tied to a particular place. In a different aspect of 'connection', some referred to inter-connectedness, mentioning negative human impact on the environment which would rebound on humans. Two people implied a 'time' element concerning connection,

linked to progress over the time they had worked on a conservation project, and the future such as when the planted trees grew.

The level of 'connection' to a specific place expressed during the interviews varies from shallow to deep. Also, the connection expressed was largely cognitive or emotional rather than tangible. Moreover, direct engagement with the place is determined as a key to building 'connection'. Here are some examples of the comments made by participants:

> The folk left it with rubbish, and it was all dirty down, but we felt it was good to clean it. It must have been about 20 bags and three big car seats going to rubbish...it's good to see that clean, and you're keeping it clean, and you're just still playing part of it...When you go back down, you feel oh I know this place. You don't feel lost or anything, you know, when you go. You go back stuff, go back there and you just kinda think I tidied that up, if you go. (KN, 24 Oct 2001)

> ...because I have never been there before, but now I have been there a lot of times, and I feel like I know it very well. I feel I've known it longer than I have. (BO, 20 Feb 2002)

> I think it (a sense of connection) sort of grows, as you keep going there. 'Cause you learn more about it each time you go. It's like getting to know a person, you know, each time you meet, you get to know the person more. (MI, 18 Feb 2002)

Though some interviewees held the view that conservation is virtuous regardless of the programmes, it appeared to be a belief without much substantial experience. The organisers hoped that the programmes would nurture participants in a relationship with the wider environment. However, as mentioned earlier, it was clear that participants' relationships and interests seemed to be restricted to the places and elements with which they engaged during the programmes. Nonetheless, there were a few exceptions to this, and it is possible that a more general sense of the environment may come much later in their life.

## Discussions and Findings

### A Perspective on Education for Sustainability

The organisers' primary objective to enhance pro-environmental behaviour among participants resonates with the literature on education for sustainability[8] (Cooper, 1994; Fien, 1993a; Grundy & Simpkin, 2001; IUCN et al., 1991; Palmer, 1998; University of Edinburgh, n.d.; Zelezny, 1999).

In the context of environmental youth work in the UK, Grundy and Simpkin (2001) consider that the research of the Council for Environmental Education, completed in 1993, is inextricably linked to EFS. The research identified the three basic approaches in environmental youth work as 'political education', 'outdoor activity' and 'personal and social development' (Rogers, 1994). Grundy and Simpkin (2001)

extend these approaches and under 'outdoor activity' included conservation, outdoor education (i.e. outdoor sports) and sensitisation to nature, with an expectation that helps participants understand and act towards sustainability. The Scottish programmes in this study can be situated in this 'outdoor activity' category, even though what is involved is not precisely what Grundy and Simpkin (2001) outline. By conservation, Grundy and Simpkin envisage that young people would analyse degraded ecosystems and act on the causes and issues. Moreover, the participants would learn how to have fun while making sure that outdoor sports do not damage places for future users. Grundy and Simpkin (2001) suggest that building a sense of affinity with nature extends young people's environmental awareness, which would help them understand the natural order of life and human dependency on nature. They argue that "from this, a sense of the need to develop a way of life based on a sustainable balance with nature may emerge" (Grundy & Simpkin, 2001, p. 129).

In light of this framework, what each study programme offered greatly varied in terms of its nature and significance. In the case of the JMA Gullane, the JMA Tranent and the Green Team, the degraded ecosystems were often linked to human activities such as littering and negligence. Here programme participants had an opportunity to analyse and act on the causes. However, with the exception of the JMA Gullane, there was no group attempt to analyse the causes; nonetheless they cleaned the areas to 'help and improve the wild place'. Many activities might be categorised as 'improving the environment' such as footpath building and

maintenance, tree planting, cutting out 'pest' shrubs, and setting small stools (they called them 'perches') in a park; but during the programmes there was no discussion on reasons why they 'improved' the environment through their selected activities. If the ecosystem was disturbed, then it might be because of the footpath to begin with, and the 'improvements' they engaged in were possibly for human use of the areas. Concerning building an affinity with nature and its implication for EFS, observations and interview accounts suggest that the study programmes conveyed the message that the environment depends on humans, or that humans have to look after it by mending and cleaning. This contrasts with the view of Grundy and Simpkin (2001) that it should focus on understanding of the natural order of life and humans' dependency on nature.

Another guideline of EFS is offered in *Educating for a Sustainable Future* (University of Edinburgh, n.d.). Their study identified six statements which primary school staff in the UK considered as the core ingredients of environmental education (EE) (see Appendix 2a). The following shows the main elements of those statements from the study above and are extended to include the context beyond school. EE is about:

- developing positive attitudes towards the environment,
- fostering environmental responsibility,
- learning about the local environment through fieldwork,
- active involvement in improving the environment,

- understanding the local and global impact of our decisions on the environment,
- and it should be relevant to all learning.

In respect of these modified criteria, the study group organisers intended to develop 'positive attitudes towards the environment', 'environmental responsibility', and to involve young people in 'learning about their local environment through fieldwork'. Some groups such as the JMA Gullane and Tranent had a clear intention to have the participant involved 'actively in improving their environment'.

A 'positive attitude' is linked to environmental ethics and values. It is reflected in *Caring for the Earth* (IUCN *et al.*, 1991) and Sterling (2001b) as respect and care for the community of life. These values and ethics are not universally held and are complex concepts, and the study programmes did not seem to handle them in a comprehensive manner. While addressing the importance of the community of life and all species, the programmes did not discuss apparent contradictions such as why they discriminated against certain plants ('pest' species) or why making a hole in the ground, removing plants and earthworms, to cement down a wooden perch in a park was justified in environmentally ethical terms? Two JMA Tranent participants, for example, reported that when they were told to cut off branches in woodland, they were "upset because we were destroying it". One of them said; "they were really nice, and they were part of the wood and everything, and when they were put away, it was...a bit of shame...because it was like...oh...now they are gone" (MI, 17 Feb 2002). According to the interviewees, leaders assured them at the time that the

branches would grow again. However the participants' feeling of loss and the apparent contradiction in cutting off branches to 'protect' nature could have been discussed further from an EFS point of view.

The issue of the local environment applies only partly to the Green Team, and not directly at all to the NTS's Kintail Trailbrazer group. Nonetheless, from an EFS point of view, the organisers could have attempted to relate what they did during the programme to their home environment and daily life.

Difference in levels of participation may be worth noting. Active participation is considered as an important element of EFS (Fien, 1993a; Sterling, 2001b), and *Educating for a Sustainable Future* (University of Edinburgh, n.d.) cites Hart's participation categories (Hart, 1997) which asserts that only higher levels of participation offer any prospect of empowerment to achieve the goals of EFS. Hart proposes eight levels of young people's participation in environmental projects (Appendix 2b), and classifies the lowest three (Manipulation, Decoration, Tokenism) as "non-participation" (Hart, 1997, p. 41). Among the study programmes, one of the highest participation levels following Hart's classification is seen in the JMA Gullane and JMA Tranent as "adult initiated, shared decisions with children" (p. 43), which is ranked third. As for the other groups, young people physically 'participated' in various activities, but they had no part in designing the programmes, and often they were doing what they were told.

In some cases the adults tried to inform participants of the reasons for the certain conservation actions, but there were times when the explanation was not effectively conveyed to the participants. For example, one leader explained why they were going to cut down rhododendrons, but the participants were preoccupied by the rain and getting cold. Later when I asked three participants the reasons for eradicating the plants, two of them said they were not sure, and one participant said he had learnt that that the plants dispatch poisonous chemicals into soil and displace the other plants (Fieldnotes, 09/02/02). Sometimes participants were too bothered by midges to listen to organisers' talks. Sometimes leaders' explanations were not offered.

My observations and conversations during the programmes suggest that sometimes some adult leaders involved young people in certain activities without themselves fully understanding the reasons and significance. For example, in cementing wooden stools in the park, I asked one leader to what extent it truly improved the environment. He answered that this project was suggested by the office which manages the area, so this must be worthwhile or needed (Fieldnotes, 15/09/02). From this perspective, following Hart's (1997) categorisation, some of these programmes belong to either 'assigned but informed' (the fifth level) or 'non-participation'.

Among the statements suggested in *Educating for a Sustainable Future* (University of Edinburgh, n.d.), what was missing from all the study groups was understanding 'the local and global impact of our decisions on the environment'. While most programmes focused on 'solving the problem' by conservation activities, if they enhance the understanding of local and global environmental implications of their activities during the programmes, then the programmes address EFS more fully.

EFS requires an integration of economic, social and cultural knowledge, and it implies an ontological transformation, which should lead young people to live and think in a sustainability-oriented manner (Sterling, 2001b). *Educating for a Sustainable Future* (University of Edinburgh, n.d.) states that EFS should equip children with the problem-solving skills needed to evaluate costs and benefits and to deal with the tensions between the wishes of the individuals and the needs of society. Although within their restricted timeframe the study programmes have the potential to address fully these issues and, to a certain degree, to develop skills, they have not comprehensively attended to these possibilities.

**Organisers' Assumptions in the Light of the Participants' Perceptions**

In an earlier section of this chapter, I outlined the organisers' assumptions that underpin the programme designs. This section revisits these assumptions in the light of the participants' accounts.

**Assumption 1: If it is fun, they will come back. If they are having a good time, they are more receptive to learning about the environment.**

The first part of the statement was overwhelmingly supported by the participants' accounts in interviews. Enjoyment and fun was included in all accounts as reasons to continue or come back to the programme. There was less evidence to substantiate the second part of the assumption which linked joy and willingness to learn. Nonetheless, a few people commented that enjoyment led them to have a new interest in the environment. For example:

> TT: When did you get interested in the environment?
> KN: em about two years ago, when the first JM[9] thing started, and everyone started to got along and we all went along and had a good time. And I thought I would keep on doing it.
> TT: And that leads you to get interested in the environment?
> KN: yes, certainly.
> (24 Oct 2001)

**Assumption 2: Knowledge about and appreciation of the environment would contribute to building a relationship with the environment. Moreover, being in and engaging with the environment would naturally help participants get connected with it.**

Many participants stated in the interviews that once they knew about nature, they wanted to know more about it, and that the environment started to mean more as knowledge and interest grew. They indicated that appreciation would lead to understanding and *vice versa*, as some examples explain:

NQ: ...But having been on the GT, the importance of them (plants) is becoming bigger to me. I now know names of native trees to Scotland, and...when we went on to plant trees is a big thing. Once you get to know the things, they mean more to you. I guess these [the GT programmes] have done that to me. (16 Sep 2002)

TT: These programmes made you feel closer to the land?
QH: ...yes. I do think they will because you will learn to appreciate more, and you will also learn you are just coming along about animals and wildlife, so you will begin to understand more. (17 Sep 2002)

Concerning the second half of the assumption, it is not clear that direct engagement will undoubtedly enhance connection, but it was evident from their accounts that engagement with a particular place is the key to building a connection. However, this does not appear to be true for everyone. An example which does not fit into this assumption is discussed in the following section.

**Assumption 3: Once a relationship is built, you will protect it.**

Though wordings varied, statements of this sort were offered by participants. There was also some evidence that as a result of engagement in the environment, participants became more aware of it, and they changed their behaviour to prevent damage or further degradation.

TT: Why is it important for people to go out to countryside?

> BN: I think people should be aware of what is around them, so that they can be more considerate. (12 Sep 2002)

BN was talking about his experiences with the countryside. The same person said the experiences he had with the programmes opened his eyes to nature, and made him want to know more about it. There are more comments that support this assumption. An awareness of and interest in the environment was considered to be included in a process of building relationships.

> DB: ...yeah, I don't litter anymore. Before you don't think anything about it, but now being actually involved, then that is when you start thinking like if I do that, I shouldn't do it now. (24 Oct 2001)

> KN: yeah, careful not to, like, ruin stuff and vandalise stuff. Just if you drop something, pick that up. When you drop something, there is a bin right across there. If I have rubbish in my hand now, I just wait till I find the bin, so. (24 Oct 2001)

There was no strong contradictory evidence, but this may be because most participants had already shown an interest in the environment and understood conservation as a norm and the correct thing to do.

On the other hand, XH did not seem to build an interest in or an attachment to the environment even after her engagement in the programme. Her appreciation of the natural environment and interest in the conservation work was shallow and stemmed

from the benefit that she or humans might get. Being asked if people should help nature, XH answered:

> I think sometimes nature gets in the way. That's why we have to do harmful things sometimes, but nature does help. So nature must have been kept cycles somewhere. The nature helps humans, but it gets over-helpful sometimes, so humans need to be more powerful with them. (23 Aug 2002)

When asked if she thought nature existed for humans, there was a pause before she answered:

> ... I think we could cope without nature, so I don't think it was that important. I know nature produces a lot of stuff...but...if nature didn't exist, we would just manage to cope just. So I don't make fuss about it. (23 Aug 2002)

While she seems to consider that humans are independent of nature, she did not think it was right that a housing area should expand and invade countryside. According to her, however, this was because it would affect people's right to enjoy the countryside rather than being based on her relationship with the environment. This case also indicates that, for her, no deep relationship or desire to protect had been created. It also shows that for XH at least that the programme did not deliver what it set out to.

This also challenges the previous assumption (Assumption 2), demonstrating that providing the elements of fun, engaging in the environment through conservation work, knowledge about nature, and profound experiences outdoors do not always connect young people with the environment, despite what the organisers suggest. The analysis shows that among the six people who had weak interest in the environment prior to the programmes, two made a connection with a particular place and indicated that their way of thinking in terms of the environment was affected by the programme experiences, one demonstrated a limited interest in the environment, and three were unaffected.

**Unquestioned Assumptions**

'Environmental protection and conservation is a good thing' was usually the start point of the Scottish environmental programmes I studied. However, my observations show that this stance was not discussed with young people nor critically examined. It was such a strong underpinning that the participants had no choice but to accept it. Similarly the parents I interviewed shared this view and valued the programme for teaching it to their children. Furthermore, the same unquestioned value is presented in Scottish government documents. The Scottish Office Education Department states that one of the aims of Environmental Studies is to "develop informed attitudes and values relating to the care and conservation of the environment" (Scottish Office Education Department, 1993a, p. 2).

Nature conservation has been a significant element in the environmental movement in the UK (Adams, 1997; Evans, 1992). As the media pays increasing attention to environmental issues, conservation and protection of the environment is also regarded as a 'politically correct' concept (System Three, 2000). Most participants interviewed held pro-conservation values before engaging in the programmes. In many cases it was the reason they became interested in these programmes and that their parents allowed them to participate.

During the first meeting with possible participants for a JMA programme at the high school in Tranent, two recruiters introduced John Muir as a Dunbar-born conservationist (Dunbar is near Tranent) and a founder of the concept of national parks. They continued to stress that he worked to "protect nature and help the environment", and added that many places in the USA were named after him (Fieldnote, 01/11/01). The students aged 12-13 were all quietly listening and nodding. The talk conveyed the message that protecting nature is fundamentally virtuous, thus Muir was given wide recognition and appreciation. There was no reference to different perspectives on such work. For example, there was no discussion of the morality of evicting original inhabitants from their ancient lands to establish national parks (Turton, 1987) or the contemporary tension between conservation and development.

On various occasions, conservation work was explained by organisers to the participants as 'putting something back in the environment instead of only taking', and thus considered as moral. It was also stated that conservation equals to do something 'for' wild places. However they did not explain to participants why footpath maintenance or installing perches in a park was 'for' the environment; these activities had first an appearance of 'for' humans to enjoy the area in more comfort, and in a way limited damage. They classified the action as 'improving the environment' and implied it was beneficial to the environment.

The concept of conservation has been argued as a social and cultural construction and its contradictory nature has been discussed (Adams, 1996, 1997; Anderson & Grove, 1987; Brandon & Wells, 1992; Elliot, 1997; Neumann, 1998; Turton, 1987). Elliot (1997) states "naturalness is a value-adding property", implying an ambiguous demarcation between preservation and creation (p. 146). While Evans (1992) discloses a strong aversion to "unnatural nature" in the UK (p. 236), it is true to say that a substantial proportion of flora and fauna depends on artificial habitats, and often nature reserves are created and controlled to appear more natural from a human perspective.

There may be many justifications for protecting people's favourite landscapes from deterioration and destruction, but is this blind belief in conservation and preservation a guarantee of a sustainable future? Unless organisers deal with the fundamental

reasons as to why people conserve nature in the way they do, the participants who take the message at face value may lack a holistic perspective. Consequently they may simply impose their belief on other societies of people with different worldviews and lifestyles[10]. Moreover, those who hold this unchallenged belief may not be adaptable in tackling the changing situation and issues concerning the present and future environment (Adams, 1996).

'Looking after' or 'caring' is another concept that may symbolise the way people in the UK place themselves in relation to the natural environment. The organisers wanted to enhance pro-environmental attitudes among participants; these attitudes were described as to 'preserve, care and look after'. Having seen the same terms repeated in official documents (National Curriculum Council, 1990; Scottish Office Education Department, 1993b), it can be assumed that this is a common understanding in the UK as a 'correct' attitude to the environment. In fact, much of the environmental literature in the Western context included the concept of 'care and protect'. These phrases suggest an awareness that the environment is significantly damaged by human activities. At the same time they may imply a paternalistic feeling with power on the human side (Pálsson, 1999). A person like XH who believes that humans do not need nature to live on could agree in principle to 'look after' it for a utilitarian purpose or from 'pity'. The following chapters disclose that other study groups in Alaska and Canada use a very similar term, 'to take care of' the

land, which carries significantly different meanings based on different relationships with their environment.

**Summary**

The study groups conducted the educational programmes outdoors as a response to environmental degradation that they regarded as indirectly caused by people's detachment from the environment. Some organisers also intended the programmes to provide opportunities for young people who are likely to get into trouble without having something worthwhile to do.

The organisers consider building a relationship with the environment as fundamental to enhancing a pro-environmental attitude among participants, even though it is not explicitly listed in their official literature. The view that conservation is a good thing is never critically examined with young people, and it was an unquestioned foundation of the educational programmes.

Having identified the organisers' principle aims and concerns, the programmes were examined from EFS perspectives. Their intentions and concerns mostly reflect the EFS literature, but the environmental ethics, engagement in the local environment and quality of participation were not extensively dealt with by the study groups. In addition, organisers did not explicitly promote understanding of the local and global impact of people's decisions on the environment. With respect to the overall goal

of EFS to orient young people towards sustainable ways of thinking and acting, the programmes did not seem to fully utilise their potential.

The organisers' main assumptions were investigated, and they were mostly verified by the participants' perceptions. However, many participants did not appear to build relationships with the environment or demonstrate an impact on their fundamental values. While to a certain extent the programmes expanded the existing environmental interests of the participants, it was unclear to what extent the experiences contributed to raising environmental awareness. The young people's interests and concerns tended to be limited to what they did during the programmes. Even though many stated changes in their environmental behaviour within a limited range, some changes clearly stemmed from concerns for humans rather than the environment. Often environmental activities were disassociated from their daily lives, and the end of the programme was the end of their environmental involvement. While some participants reinforced their environmental values and some were little affected, no one became less concerned about the environment after the programmes.

The environmental programmes in Scotland that I studied were institutionalised and the community involvement was virtually nil. The award schemes are approved of by society: they add a value to a CV and are backed by a social and parental norm which views 'environmental protection' and 'social service work' as a good thing for young people to do. Therefore, for ambitious students, the environmental projects

became one of the requirements for success. Getting an award and boosting their CVs was used by organisers as an incentive to attract participants to the programmes. However, having participated in them, some young people valued the experiences for different reasons other than solely a 'requirement for an award'.

The research analysis suggested that people who were associated with the study programmes in the UK were distanced, or considered many other people distanced, from the natural environment. In the study groups, many young people's relationships with the environment appeared shallow and idealised. In order to build a cognitive and emotional link between an individual and the environment, many reasons and explanations were provided to the programme participants. This illustrates that for many participants human dependence on nature is unreal and invisible. One of the reasons given in attempting to convince young people of environmental responsibility was to say that the area is 'ours' (in the sense that we live in the area and we have a right to use it) and thus we have a responsibility as well as a benefit by looking after it. This is an appeal to the participants' self-interests, and is contrary to the organisers' apparent desire to promote intrinsic value in nature. This is not to say that enlightened self-interest has no value, but if this is a compromise needed to lure young people to participate in environmental work, it is further evidence of their distance from the environment.

Linked to this, the programmes aim to build a pro-environmental attitude to 'preserve, care and protect' the environment. While this shows the perception that part of the environment has been seriously degraded, it may also reflect a perceived separation of humans and nature, imbuing people with a power to control the natural world. It was also suggested that nature is a 'place' to go for recreation, and the programmes re-enforce this perspective. In this context, the programmes offer 'enjoyable experiences' outdoors.

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Notes:

[1] The Highlands indicates a mountainous region of northern Scotland with a historically distinct culture.
[2] For more discussion of 'the clearances', see, among others, Hunter (1995), Mackenzie (1946), McKichan (1977), Prebble (1969) and Richards (2000).
[3] The JMA Tranent was not organised by the John Muir Award but by individuals who adopted the JMA scheme for their programme.
[4] By 'wild places', the JMT means 'where the impact of mankind is minimal' and 'where people came into closest contact with nature, where we can enjoy the richness and variety of life on this planet and understand our place within it' (John Muir Trust, 2003).
[5] The Duke of Edinburgh's Award is a national scheme which started in 1957, and is aimed at personal development among young people (Duke of Edinburgh's Award, n.d.-a, n.d.-b). There are three levels of Award - Bronze, Silver and Gold – and participants choose one activity under a set headings, such as 'skills', 'service', 'physical recreation' and 'expeditions', for a set length of time. The GT is regarded as 'service' in the scheme.
[6] The elements of the guidelines are described as 'Discover, Explore, Conserve and Share' (the JMA brochure, 2003). Respectively they mean 'to identify a wild place', 'to explore its natural characteristics', 'to act to conserve the place' and 'to inform others of the experiences'.
[7] Some may suggest the term 'the countryside', but the idea of 'the countryside' is cultural construction with specific meanings attached and a foundation in the UK on which everyday life has been built (Adams, 1996). For discussion on the idea of 'countryside', see W. Adams (1997), for example, among others.
[8] Education for Sustainability in this study embraces 'educations' such as environmental, outdoor and development, which address sustainable living and inter- and intra-generational equity (See Chapter 2 for discussions on Education for Sustainability).
[9] By 'JM', the interviewee meant the John Muir Award programme.

[10] Following chapters illustrate societies with worldviews which are different from those in the West. Subsequently, readers would get the impression that common sense in one society does not always apply to different societies. One of the well-known thorny issues is wildlife protection *versus* harvesting. For a discussion of the complexity of the issue, see Caulfield (1993).

# Chapter 6: 'Bonding with the Land' in Kodiak, Alaska (USA)

> We try to regain our culture through the lifestyle that our ancestors had – the subsistence lifestyle...as long as we have the land and sea, we would never starve. An old saying goes from many years back; when the tide is out, the table is set.
> (J. Knagin, 18 July 2002)

Julie Knagin, a respected Alutiiq Elder[1], was talking, sitting in a chair near an oil heater in a large white dome tent surrounded with natural spruce forest at Qattani, Afognak Island, north of the Kodiak Island Archipelago. During the interview, we heard children chatting and running outside. Since its inception, Knagin has supported the educational programme called 'The Academy of Elders/Science Camp', known as the 'Science Camp', which this chapter explores.

Two of my study groups were situated in Alaska: The Academy of Elders/Science Camp 2002 on Afognak Island, part of the Kodiak Archipelago; and Russian Mission School in Russian Mission. This chapter begins with an overview of the Alaskan context. Though the overview is not meant to be in depth, the general history outlines some essential elements that are commonly important for all of Alaska, but with special focus on Kodiak and the upper Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta, where my study groups were located. I first present the historical and current educational situation, which has a direct implication on the study groups, followed by Kodiak as a case study. Another Alaskan group is described in the following chapter.

## Alaska Overviews

### Introduction

Alaska is a place of diversity. It is seven times as big as the UK, but it houses 1/100$^{th}$ of Britain's human population. It has the highest peak of the North American continent and a long coastline stretching from temperate latitudes to the Arctic. The vegetation zones are largely divided into temperate forest, boreal forest, taiga and tundra. South-eastern and south-western islands have a temperate maritime climate, whereas most of the northern third of Alaska is covered with permafrost. The ranges of snowfall, precipitation and temperature are also extreme. The entire area now attracts many visitors, from wildlife admirers to mineral extractors. However, human habitation there has a long and unique history. It is speculated that the first wave of human migration into Alaska occurred between 15,000 and 50,000 years ago (Langdon, 1993; McGhee, 2001). Langdon (1993) suggested that the direct ancestors of contemporary Alaska Natives arrived in the area about 5,000 to10,000 years ago (p. 7). As I have selected two different cultural groups from Alaska for this study, it is worthwhile to first map out peoples in Alaska in order to place them into context.

The term 'Alaska Native' or 'Native' is generically used by indigenous peoples themselves in Alaska. A 'Native Alaskan', on the other hand, refers to anyone born

in Alaska. I follow the common usage in this paper unless other terms were used in quotations[2]. When I refer to a specific cultural group, I use the term with which the people most commonly identify with such as Alutiiq[3] and Yup'ik.

**Ethnicity Mapping in Alaska**

The population of Alaska in 2000 was 626,932 with 119,241 or 19% of American Indian and Alaska Native descent[4] (US Census Bureau, 2000). Other studies show nearly 103,000 people or 16% of Alaska residents have Alaska Native ancestry (Alaska Native Heritage Center, 2000; Barnhardt, 2001). The three major cities, Anchorage, Fairbanks and Juneau, hold nearly 60% of the Alaska population. However, 70% of Alaska Natives live in over 200 'remote' villages and communities in rural Alaska, where they are the majority. Not many permanent jobs exist in most communities and subsistence hunting and fishing significantly support livelihoods (Wolfe & Walker, 1987).

There are three substantially distinct Alaska Native populations; Aleut[5], Eskimo and Indian (Alutiiq Museum and Archaeological Repository, 1997; Barnhardt, 2001; Langdon, 1993). They belong to four different Native language families (Eskimo-Aleut, Tsimshian, Haida, and Athabascan-Eyak), and these are further classified into groups having 20 different languages (Alaska Native Language Center, 2001). The language distributions are shown in Figure 6.1.

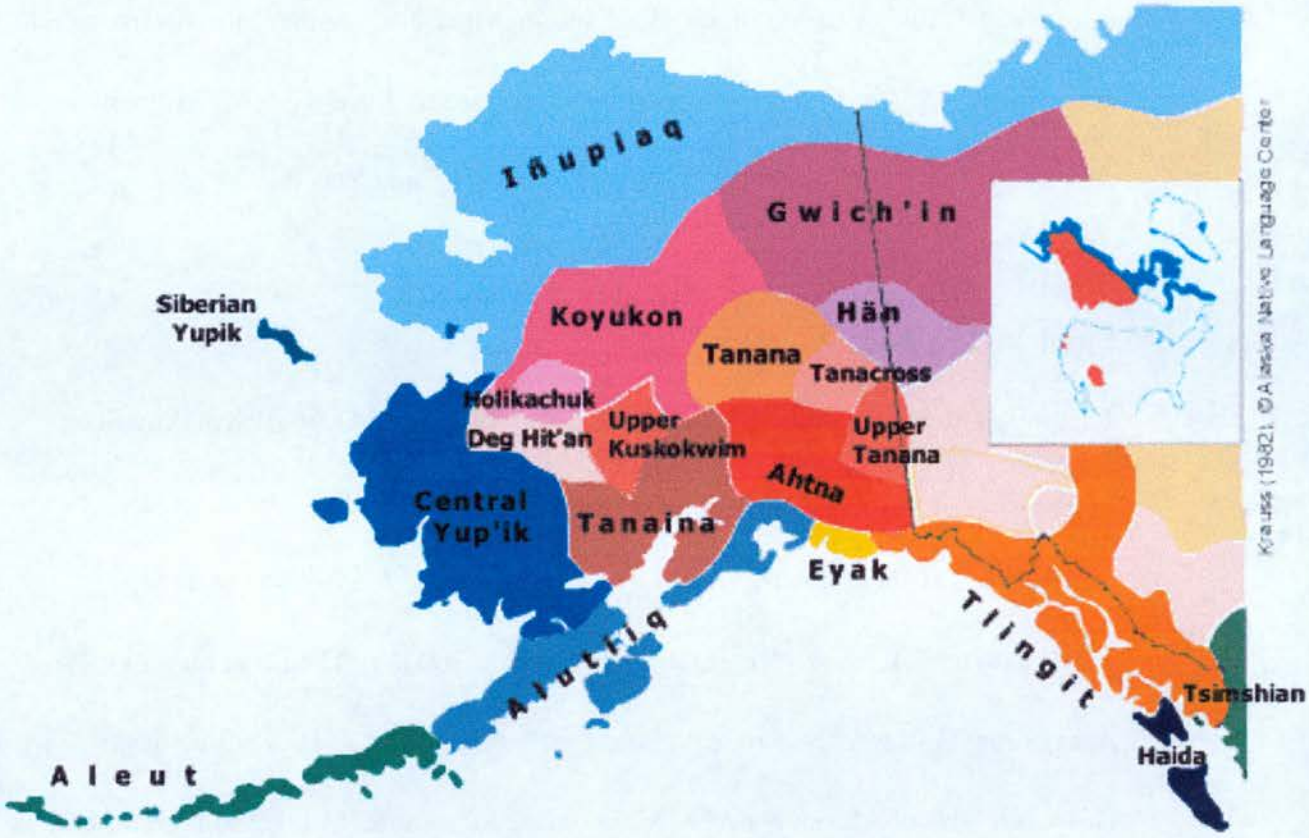



Figure 6.1 Languages in Alaska (Source: The Alaska Native Language Center)

As a general guidance for this study, and following the prevailing claims of people whom I worked with for this research, six major cultures are identified based on cultural similarities and geographic proximity: Unangan, Alutiiq, Yup'ik, Iñupiat, Athabaskan, and Northwest Coast Indians (Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian). However, ethnic identity as well as naming is very complex and sometimes the people themselves are divided in the discussion. Both of my study groups in this research belong to the 'Eskimo' primary group, and both fall in an Eskimo-Aleut language family. But one cultural group is Alutiiq with a language called Alutiiq[6] and the other is Yup'ik or Yuit with Yup'ik language.

Though people identify themselves with a certain linguistic and cultural group, their mother tongue has been rapidly replaced with English. Krauss (1979) reported a grim situation of language use as "a result of the effects of government policies" (p. 37). In 2000, it was estimated that less than 30% of the population spoke native languages at home (US Census Bureau, 2000). Children still speak their native languages at home in only four among the 20 Alaska Native languages (Barnhardt, 2001)[7].

## Euro-American Contact and Subsequent Changes

*Russian Experiences*

Unangan and Alutiiq people were affected most when Europeans first entered Alaska. The first European landing in south Alaska was allegedly by Vitus Bering in 1741 who was employed by the Russian Crown. The discovery of millions of sea otters resulted in a surge of commercial fur trappers and traders into the area. In 1745 Russians physically invaded Attu, the western end of Aleutian Islands, and occupied Alaska until 1867, when Alaska was sold to the US. The first 40 years of the Russian period has been reported as a time of brutal exploitation and murder[8] (Black, 1992; Crowell & Lührmann, 2001; Krauss, 1979; Langdon, 1993).

The following 40 years of Russian occupation became a period of a colonisation, forcing Unangan and Alutiiq men to hunt sea otters. The Russian-American Company was first established on Kodiak Island in the 1780s. Warfare against the

invaders, forced labour, disease and starvation wiped out many villages and decimated the Unangan and Alutiiq population (Crowell & Lührmann, 2001; Langdon, 1993; Pullar & Knecht, 1995) and the subsequent impact on traditional knowledge and culture has been documented (Pullar & Knecht, 1995). During the third 40 years of Russian rule in Alaska (1824-1868), smallpox swept through the Kodiak Island region in 1837-38, and the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta in1838-39. This brought a significant demographic change. Crowell and Lührmann (2001) suggest the population in Kodiak fell to under 2,000 with Alutiiq and Creole combined[9] (p. 60). The survivors in Kodiak were relocated to and consolidated in seven places, leaving many formerly thriving villages empty (Crowell & Lührmann, 2001).

The Yup'ik in the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta traded pelts and skins with the Russian-American Company. A trading post was built at Russian Mission on the Yukon River in 1837 ("Yukon-Kuskokwim delta", 1979). But Russians did not find the area economically attractive. Thus influence from Russians over the native people in the area was relatively small at that time. There was a detrimental impact on the coastal Yup'ik in the1850s when commercial whalers moved into the area. Inland Yup'ik in general experienced less Russian influence until well into the 20th century, and maintained their culture, language and communities to a greater extent than Alutiiq and Unangan people. Nonetheless, the epidemics, starting in 1838, had a shattering effect. The population was decimated, a number of children became

orphans, many Yup'ik and Athabascan camps were abandoned and many traditional culture bearers died all at once. It is suggested that people might have started to accept the new religion more easily[10] at that time, with a questioning of traditional beliefs being triggered by the disorientation of society following the series of epidemics (Crowell & Lührmann, 2001; Napoleon, 1999; "The Russians come", 1988).

*American Alaska History Outline*

Russia sold Alaska to the USA in 1867, and Alaska Natives were no longer required to work for the Russian-American Company. But their life changed little for about 20 years. Alutiiq people continued to hunt sea otters and trade, but with Americans instead of Russians. However, competition among a number of trading companies and unrestricted capitalism almost immediately caused a decline in fur-bearing animals (Simeone & Miraglia, 2000). Exploitation of sea otters in Southern Alaska in the late 19th century almost drove them to local extinction. Commercial fishing became the main source of employment among the Alutiiq and many salmon canneries were built, attracting many workers from outside Alaska. Pullar and Knecht (1995) describe how salmon, which was the staple of the Alutiiq, became a commercial commodity, and the industry wiped out entire runs of salmon which had fed local people for many generations. They also report that the Americans as rulers viewed traditional clothing and housing as backward and that they forcefully

promoted the white people's lifestyle and religion to Alaska Natives (Pullar & Knecht, 1995).

An American Navy base was constructed in Kodiak in the wake of the World War II, establishing a significant presence with 15,000 service men (Mason, 1995). After the war, the Navy base remained and later became the largest US Coast Guard facility. In contrast, there had not been much investment in the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta due to its remoteness and also because resources were abundant in other areas in Alaska. The fishing industry only started to grow in the delta in the mid-1960s. Despite the slow external economic interest in the area, Protestant churches such as Moravians and the Jesuits started their missions among the Yup'ik, Iñupiat and Athabascan people around 1890.

Alaska had been left out of American mainstream politics until the late 1950s when economically viable quantities of oil were discovered. It was also at that time that the federal government finally deployed an extensive public health campaign, which trained locals as primary health providers. By then, however, epidemics had reduced the Alaska Native population to less than 40% of that prior to European occupation. Napoleon (1999) calls the phenomena "the Great Death" (p. 11) and attributed to it the loss of the cultural foundation that ended the continuous traditional world among peoples.

Alaska became the 49th state in 1959, and economic development had begun. At the point of statehood, the federal government owned nearly all the land in Alaska, and a right-recognition claim of Native groups was ignored during the discussion concerning land transfer from the federal to the state government. When large oil deposits were discovered in the north of Alaska, the government recognised that the aboriginal land claims needed to be solved urgently. As a result, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) was signed in 1971. The act extinguished Alaska Native land titles in return for US$962.5 million and 44 million acres of land (about one tenth of Alaska), which was divided among 13 regional and over 200 village for-profit corporations (Simeone & Miraglia, 2000). The system, based on the corporate business model (which was foreign to most of the Alaska Natives) was not without shortcomings and criticisms. However, Simeone and Miraglia (2000) conclude that the ANCSA did empower Alaska Native's social position from previously being subjugated (pp. 14-15). Nevertheless, this does not mean that Alaska Natives acquired autonomous control over all their affairs. Subsistence rights, which have been key elements for their life, are still heated issues in Alaska in competition with many other interested parties.

**History of Education**

Education as an institution was started in Alaska by the Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian-American Company. The first recorded school for the natives was opened on Kodiak Island in 1784 by a Russian fur trader, and the Russian Orthodox

Church started its mission schools there in 1796 and in other areas of Alaska (McDowell Group, 2001). Their primary aim of education was to Christianise Native children and to teach the Russian language.

Though colonialism was detrimental, the Russian policy toward native languages was reportedly benign. Krauss (1979) describes the first book produced in the Native language in 1834 by Russian Orthodox priest Ivan Veniaminov as "a remarkably good orthography" (p. 39), and Black (2001) provides more evidence of Alutiiq language use in the church and in parish schools. They created an alphabet and provided a literary tradition, especially in the case of Unangan and Alutiiq, in an effort to 'educate' the population (Krauss, 1979). Research by Partnow (1993) suggests that by the end of the 19th century many of the Alutiiq hunters were literate and bilingual. Until 1910, the Russian and protestant churches printed books in the Native tongues and conducted education in the locals' languages, especially among Unangan, Alutiiq and Central Yup'ik (Krauss, 1979).

After Alaska became part of the USA, the first American missionary school was established in 1877 in Wrangell, south-east of Alaska, and gradually started to spread. In the late 1800s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) of the federal government became responsible for education in Alaska, and established day schools in villages and some vocational boarding schools. In addition, they contracted missionary groups to run schools (Barnhardt, 2001). Separate schools were built for non-

Native children who came into Alaska with their families. Only white and white/mixed blood children were entitled to attend to those schools.

The BIA-run day schools had a strict 'English-Only' policy. The Presbyterian missionary Sheldon Jackson, who had a strong influence on the early American educational system in the territory (Krauss, 1979; Langdon, 1993), is quoted by Krauss (1979):

> ...government contracts for educating Indian pupils provide for the ordinary branches of an English education to be taught, and that no books in any Indian language shall be used, or instruction given in that language to Indian pupils...instruction in their vernacular is not only of no use to them but is detrimental to their speedy education and civilization. (p. 40-41/Jackson's quote in 1888)

Unlike the Russian churches, American missionaries had a clear goal of the eradication of Native languages and their spiritual customs. According to Krauss (1979), the last church school teaching in the local language closed in 1912. Native language usage was completely banned in school education until the late 1960s (Barnhardt, 2001; Krauss, 1979; Pullar & Knecht, 1995). Children were "slapped, beaten, ridiculed, punished for speaking their own languages in school" (Krauss, 1979, p. 42). The educational policy was based on a belief in assimilation of 'inferior races' to the white Anglo-Saxon culture (Barnhardt, 2001; Kushman & Barnhardt, 1999). School was the effective machine for achieving the goal. This

has generated the negative relationship between school and community up to the present day.

The BIA began to transfer school operation to the Territory of Alaska in 1951 and then to the State of Alaska. (It was not until 1980 that the transfer was completed.) By the early 1960s, elementary schools up to eighth grade had been established in most Native communities. The political efforts of many groups led to the passing of a series of educational acts. These efforts were supported by a climate of social change in the US during the 1960s and 70s, including the Civil Rights movement and the feminism movement. The new regulations 'allowed' bi-lingual education and collaboration between the government and local communities. Moreover, the Alaska Natives' non-profit organisations, which were established because of the ANCSA, started to administer education and social programmes in their own regions. Education in Alaska started to shift in favour of the Native peoples in the1970s.

If children in rural communities wanted to go to high school, they needed to leave home to go to the BIA boarding facilities in south-east Alaska, Oregon, Colorado, New Mexico, Kansas, and Oklahoma (Barnhardt, 2001, p. 29). Following a lawsuit concerning the issue, in 1976 the State of Alaska agreed to establish a high school programme in every community in Alaska where there was an elementary school with at least eight students enrolled (Barnhardt, 2001, p. 29). Another major change in the 1970s was the establishment of Regional Educational Attendance Areas, which

aimed to devolve educational responsibility and control to locals' hands. Each rural school district established a school board, and most of the boards became directly involved in budgeting, personnel, school policies and curriculum development (Barnhardt, 2001). School Boards now had an opportunity to serve the specific cultural and educational needs of the area.

**Current Status of Alaska Native Education**

The structural reform, however, did not automatically change what was taught and how it was taught amongst the Alaska Native students. The Western views of knowledge systems remained as an educational framework, and the focus remained on how to pass these on to Native children (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2003), rather than how to support and enhance these children within their unique worldviews and associated knowledge systems. A persistent public view of higher drop-out rate[11], lower educational achievement and a lack of enthusiasm for school classes among Native American students in general are tended to be regarded as 'problems among Native students'. However, educators are becoming more aware that these problems stem from the inadequate learning environment, teaching methods and an alien institutional culture (Kawagley et al., 1998; Lipka et al., 1998; Schneider, 2000). The ontological differences among peoples in the world is increasingly discussed (Basso, 1996; Brody, 1981; Callicott, 1983; Ellen, 1996; Knudtson & Suzuki, 1992) as are the implications for education (Ascher, 2002; Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2003; Cajete, 1994; Kawagley, 1995). Barnhardt and Kawagley (2003) claim that

Western social structures and institutionalised forms of cultural transmission put indigenous views of the world and approaches to education into jeopardy (p. 4).

Increasingly, however, the limitations of a 'mono-cultural education system' were acknowledged by many indigenous as well as non-indigenous people (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2003). Addressing the reform in education in Alaska, advocates argue for a radical change in the culture of the education system (Kawagley & Barnhardt, 1999; Kushman & Barnhardt, 1999; Lipka et al., 1998). In attempting the radical change, a few large-scale reform efforts began in the1990s. In fact, the work of my two study groups were generated out of these multi-faceted initiatives.

While efforts to make Alaskan education more culturally appropriate continue (Barnhardt, 1982; Kushman & Barnhardt, 1999), school education, particularly in rural Alaska, where Alaska Natives are predominant, continues to present challenges. Alaska Natives comprised 23% of 133,105 students in Alaska in the school year (SY) 2001/02 at the time of my fieldwork (Alaska Department of Education and Early Development). Among 55 school districts, St. Mary's had 100% Alaska Native students and Lower Yukon, to which one of my study groups belonged, had 99%. On the other hand, some school districts such as Delta/Greely had only 4%. The Native student proportion in urban centres ranged from 21% in Juneau to 11% in both Anchorage and Fairbanks. Alaska Natives accounted for 92% of residents in the state's only regional boarding school, Mt. Edgecumbe High School in Sitka.

While nearly 1/4 of the student population were Alaska Native, Native public school teachers accounted for only 5%. The turnover rate of teachers has been high in Alaska, averaging 30 to 40% annually (Kushman & Barnhardt, 1999; McDowell Group, 2001).

It must be noted, however, that children's performance in school is closely related to their daily life and social environment. As of 2000, 25.7 % of the Alaska Native population is below the poverty level compared to 17.8 % for 'USA All Races'[12] and 9.8% for 'All Alaskans' (US Department of Health and Human Services, 2002). The same report states from sources published in 2000 and 2001 that the Alaska Native suicide mortality rate is 4.2 times the rate for 'USA All Races' and almost twice that of 'All Alaskans' (US Department of Health and Human Services, 2002). Such concerns are not of course confined to Alaska Natives. In 1998, 11,202 children in Alaska as a whole (58.3 per 1,000) were reported as abused or neglected and referred for investigation (Child Welfare League of America, 2003).

The extent of the positive impact of educational initiatives also depends on the social and economic environment surrounding children. In this respect, arguments have been made for the involvement of parents and communities in the education reform process (Kushman & Barnhardt, 1999; Lipka, 1998), and it is suggested that improved education is part of the solution to social problems such as alcohol and violence (Alaska Natives Commission, 1994).

## Kodiak Background Information

Following this overview of the Alaskan context, the rest of the chapter describes the Academy of Elders/Science Camp (the Science Camp). As the participants for this camp came from throughout the Kodiak region, the following section first outlines the environmental features of the region, followed by the history specific to Qattani and the contemporary social and economic settings of villages and Kodiak City.

It must be noted, however, as discussed in Chapter 3, that any statement I make in this study should not be considered as generalisation of the entire society of the region or the Alutiiq people's experiences as a whole. I attempt to draw the overview from existing literature and my interactions with people during the visits in 2001 and 2002, supplemented by subsequent input from several informants. However, the group of people who contributed most to this study are mainly associated with the educational programme I observed, and therefore my analysis is within the context of the specific camp programme.

### Geography and the Environment

The Kodiak Island Archipelago parallels the Alaska Peninsula on the western side of the Gulf of Alaska (Figure 6.2). The archipelago comprises 16 major islands and numerous small ones.

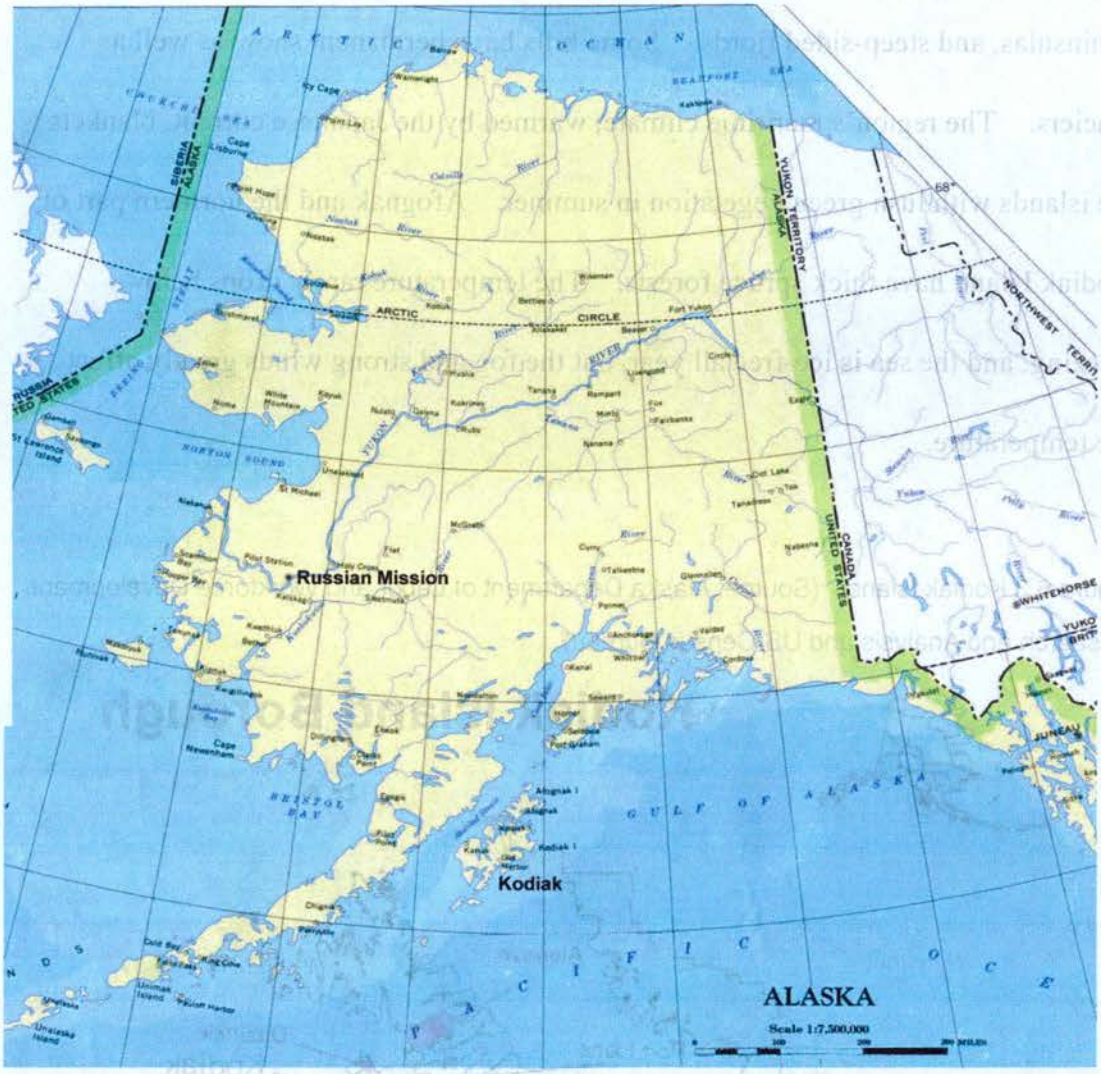
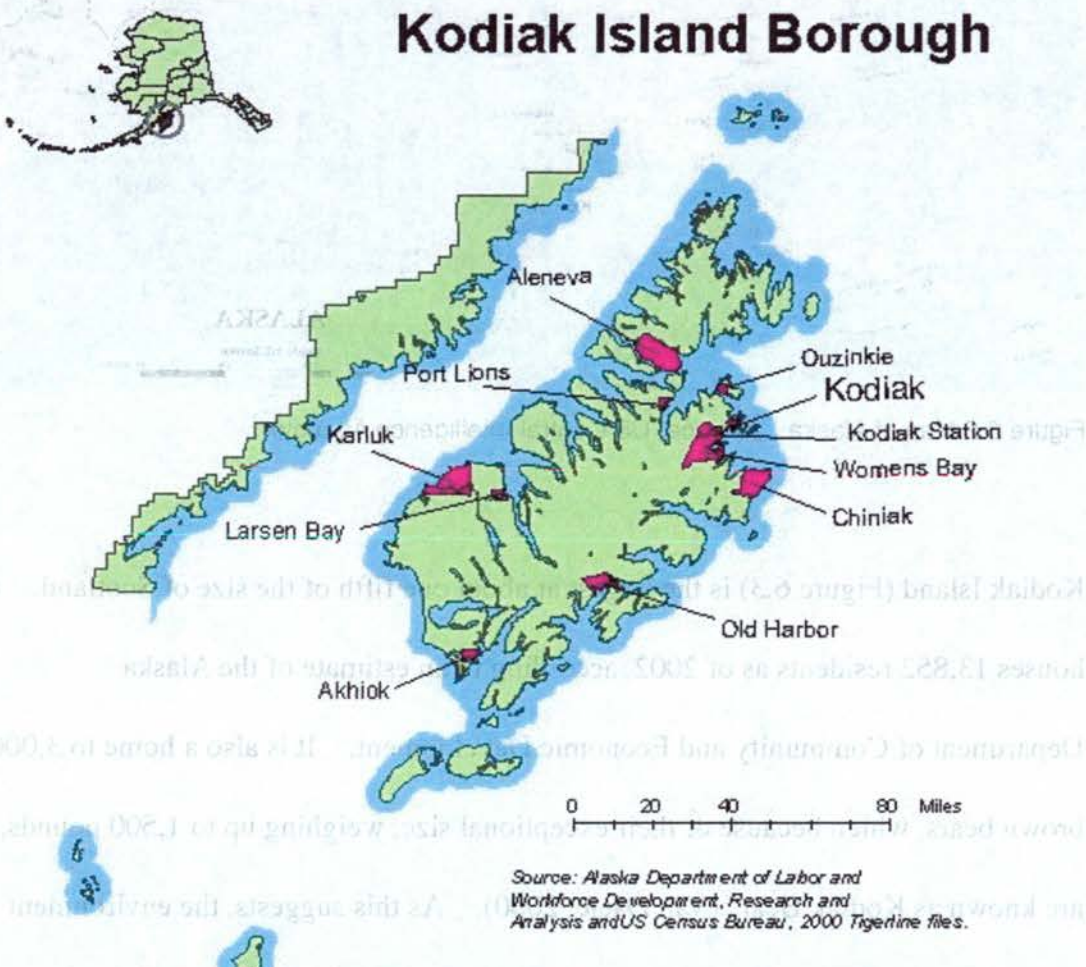



Figure 6.2 Map of Alaska (Source: US Central Intelligence Agency)

Kodiak Island (Figure 6.3) is the largest at about one fifth of the size of Scotland. It houses 13,852 residents as of 2002, according to an estimate of the Alaska Department of Community and Economic Development. It is also a home to 3,000 brown bears, which because of their exceptional size, weighing up to 1,500 pounds, are known as Kodiak Bears (Van Daele, 2000). As this suggests, the environment offers them a rich and abundant diet and this is true for other forms of life on the islands, including humankind. Long ago glaciers carved the terrain into capes,

peninsulas, and steep-sided fjords. Some hills have permanent snow as well as glaciers. The region's maritime climate, warmed by the Japanese current, blankets the islands with lush green vegetation in summer. Afognak and the northern part of Kodiak Island have thick spruce forests. The temperature rarely drops below freezing, and the sea is ice-free all year, but the fog and strong winds greatly affect the temperature.

Figure 6.3 Kodiak Island (Source: Alaska Department of Labor and Workforce Development, Research and Analysis and US Census Bureau)



The wet climate and its topography generate more than 100 streams that support five species of salmon (Clark, 1996). The complex coast shelters sea mammals such as Steller's sea lions, sea otters, harbour seals, whales and porpoises. The rocky cliffs and marshy lowlands attract over 200 species of birds, and an estimated 1.5 million seabirds winter there along with some 150,000 waterfowl ("Kodiak, emerald jewel",1992). Afognak Island houses one of the world's largest rookeries of kittiwakes (Halliday, 1998). When I was visiting, people in Kodiak called the bald eagle simply 'a bird', giving an impression that they were commonplace, whereas they are rare in the rest of the USA. On the other hand the range of large land fauna was originally limited to a few species such as brown bears and red foxes until other species were introduced by the Alaska Game Commission in the early part of the 20th century. Among those which survived are: Roosevelt elk, beaver, Sitka black-tailed deer, snowshoe hare, mountain goat, muskrat and red squirrel ("Kodiak, emerald jewel",1992).

**Kodiak History - an Overview**

About 7,000 years ago, Kodiak's abundant natural resources led the area to become one of the most populated parts of Alaska. While maritime hunting and fishing had thrived on the island, other ways of life such as horticulture, freshwater fishery or significant subsistence hunting of land mammals were not feasible (Clark, 1996). The history of Kodiak since the arrival of the Europeans mirrors the history of Alaska as described earlier. From the late 19th century, the building of canneries

and the establishment of military bases brought a large influx of people from outside. In addition to the impact of this influx, environmental disasters, some of which were due to human influence, have had severe consequences for the Native population because they resulted in death or relocation away from ancestoral lands and hence brought the inability to harvest native food (Crowell & Lührmann, 2001; Fall, 1999; Langdon, 1993; Pullar & Knecht, 1995; Simeone & Miraglia, 2000). These included epidemics, the1964 tsunami (tidal wave) and the 1989 Exxon Valdez oil spill. In 1964, following an earthquake of 8.4 on the Richter scale, a tsunami flattened downtown Kodiak and destroyed other villages, including the whole village of Afognak ("Kodiak, emerald jewel",1992; Pullar, 1992; Simeone & Miraglia, 2000). Later that year, the residents of Afognak permanently moved to a newly constructed village, called Port Lions. Currently there are no administratively recognised communities on Afognak Island, though it has logging camps, personal use cabins and a few small settlements, and people use the area for traditional harvesting (T. Schneider, personal communication, 3 Dec 2003). The programme studied used a site at Qattani, where Alutiiq people used to live (Figure 6.4) and a camp was set up by the Native Village of Afognak (NVA)[13]. It is also near the former village site, which Elders and adults remember from their younger days.

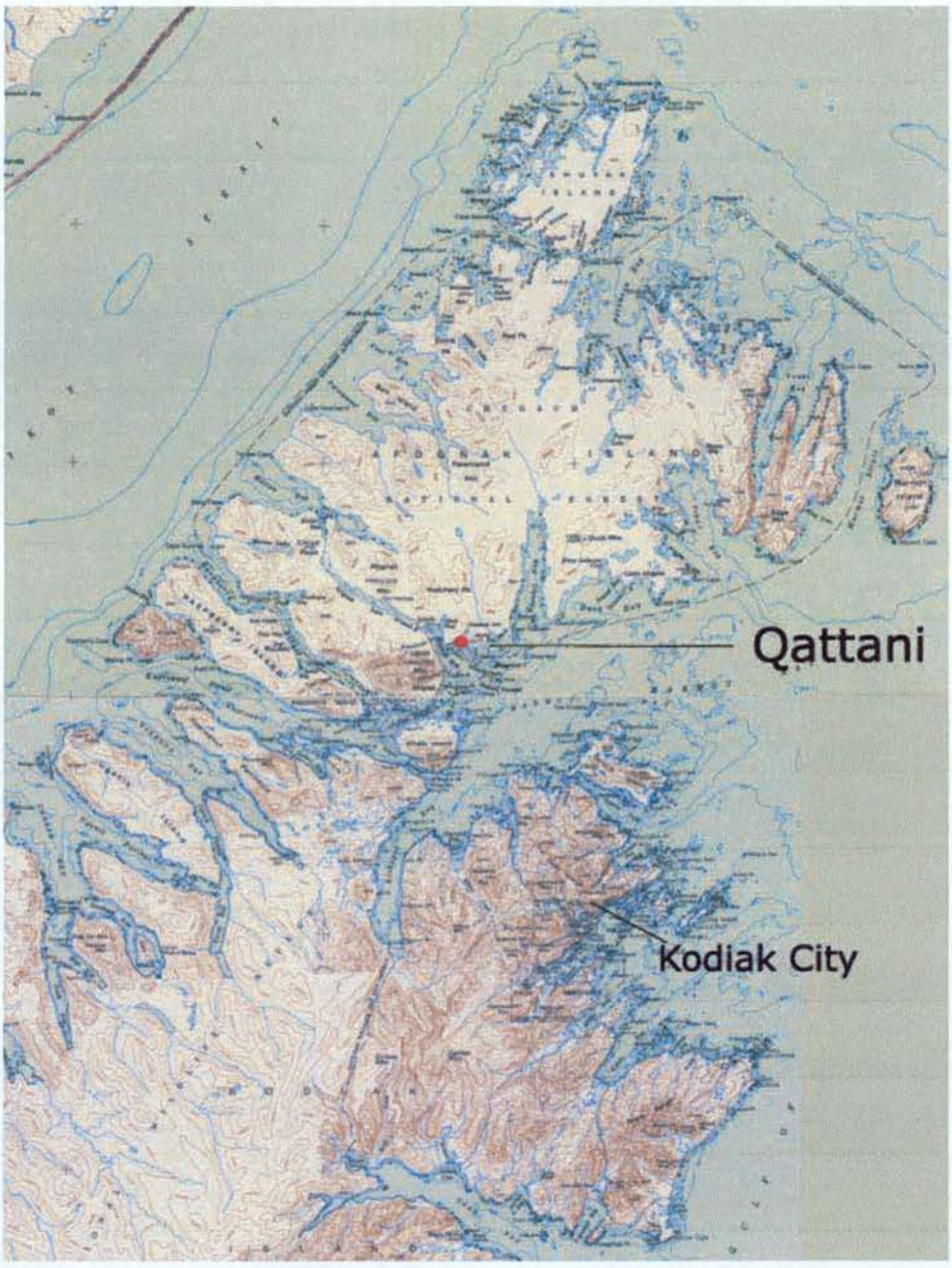



Figure 6.4 Qattani, Afognak Island (Source: US Geological Survey. Alaska Reconnaissance Topographic Series)

**Contemporary Kodiak: Social and Economic Aspects**

Communities located in Kodiak Island borough are: Akhiok, Chiniak, Karluk, Kodiak, Kodiak US Coast Guard Station, Larsen Bay, Old Harbor, Ouzinkie, Port Lions, and Womens Bay (Alaska Department of Community and Economic

Development, n.d.)[14]. Except for the communities around Kodiak City, villages are not connected to each other by road systems. Once occupied only by Alutiiq, the islands now house a diversity of ethnic nationalities, which are concentrated in Kodiak City. A $38 million low-Earth orbit launch facility was recently completed about 70km south-east of Kodiak City. The Coast Guard, the largest in the USA, is a significant feature of the demography in Kodiak, and it has impacted policy and social and economic life.

In 2003 nearly 60% of the entire population were white[15], whereas Alaska Native and American Indian accounted for 17.6% of the population. In the City of Kodiak, Alaska Natives[16] account for only 13%, comparable with 16% for the Asian population, largely Filipinos. For this reason, the state government considers Kodiak culture as "primarily non-Native" (Alaska Department of Community and Economic Development, n.d.).

In 2000, over 90 % of the total population lived in Kodiak City and the adjacent areas, and the remaining 1,000 or so people were scattered among six other villages[17] of between 27 and 237 residents. Like any other part of Alaska, small communities are predominantly Alaska Natives. For example, in 2000, all 27 residents in Karluk were Alaska Natives except one Asian, as were 88% of Ouzinkie and 86% of Old Harbor.

Economy and subsequent lifestyle differ among communities (Alaska Department of Community and Economic Development, n.d.; Fall, Miraglia, Simeone, Utermohle, & Wolfe, 2001; Mishler, 2000) and among individual households in one community. Kodiak City is the main arrival point for visitors from outside to the Kodiak Island Archipelago, and its outlook is similar to other towns in the USA with busy traffic, communication and medical systems, extended piped water system, several schools and educational institutions, shopping areas, etc. 'Fast food' franchises have sprung up, which are among the attractions for many village people when they reach the city. During my fieldwork a number of local residents in the city commented that the opening of a large supermarket in 1986 brought a significant change in their pattern of consumption, because it allowed people access to cheaper goods 24 hours a day. However, informants cautioned that lifestyles differ drastically between residents, examples of which are given later in this chapter.

The contemporary economy of Kodiak as a whole is based on fishing, seafood processing, timber, retail services and the health care industries, and the Coast Guard, Kodiak City, Borough, State and federal agencies also provide employment (Alaska Department of Community and Economic Development, n.d.). Residents engage in subsistence activities, the degree of which varies among individuals and communities, but it is widely acknowledged that subsistence activities are practised more in villages than in Kodiak City (Alaska Department of Education and Early Development, n.d.; Fall et al., 2001; Subsistence Division, n.d.; Wolfe & Walker,

1987). Six of the 20 participants (the largest among village groups) in the camp programme I observed in 2002 came from Old Harbor, where many people rely on their harvest of salmon, halibut, crab, deer, seal, rabbit and bear, as well as various berries (Mishler, 2000). A number of studies show the significant economic contribution of subsistence as well as people's reliance on country food (Fall et al., 2001; Wolfe & Walker, 1987). Moreover, important cultural and social meanings of subsistence are extensively discussed in the literature (Fall, 1999; Fall et al., 2001; Mishler, 2000; Partnow, 1993), and attachment to the land as well as to the food directly harvested from the surroundings has been strongly suggested (Taquka'aq Steering Committee, 2001)[18]. However, in a practical context, some residents during my fieldwork expressed the feeling that for various reasons the subsistence lifestyle was shrinking, and other studies support this perception (Fall et al., 2001; Subsistence Division, n.d.)[19].

For some groups of people, harvesting less may imply physical distance from a subsistence lifestyle, but it certainly does not mean subsistence is no longer important. Partnow (1993) argues that because some people cannot take part in the activities as much as they wish, the importance of subsistence increases as an identity[20] symbol. In addition, as I have witnessed, people share harvested food in their kinship groups, which means more people eat it than harvest it[21]. Not only Natives, but many others who have settled or were raised in the area have also adopted a subsistence way of life. Sandee Drabek is an artist with an American

Indian heritage who was brought up in Kodiak from the age of three, and I stayed with her family while I was visiting the city in summer 2002. Sandee was extremely busy canning and smoking salmon then, which her Alutiiq husband Tony caught at the weekends. Explaining various types of berries around the area, she termed Kodiak as a "berry heaven" and said with a smile, "you can pick to your hearts content". (S. Drabek, personal communication, 13 July 2002). This ex-teacher demonstrated an extensive knowledge of subsistence harvesting including berries and salmon, while admiring other Alaska Natives' knowledge of the usage of plants. While there are people in town who may not have opportunities for daily interaction with the open land, subsistence appears to be still a part of many people's diet and lifestyle, and its culturally profound meanings are strongly claimed by Alutiiq people themselves.

**Schooling**

In the 18th century, the Kodiak region was one of the first places in Alaska to have a school established. In 2003, Kodiak City had seven schools, each of which teaches different grade ranges (Alaska Department of Education and Early Development, n.d.). Karluk's school was closed due to low enrolment during the 1999/2000 and 2002/03, which left a total of seven 'village schools', including one at a logging camp and another in Chiniak, a small community located at the end of the road system, approximately 45 miles from the town of Kodiak (Alaska Department of

Community and Economic Development, n.d.; Kodiak Island Borough School District, 2002).

Some schools in the city had a proportion of Native students as low as 2% up to 24% in the SY 2001/02 (Alaska Department of Community and Economic Development, n.d.; Kodiak Island Borough School District, 2002). On the other hand, all schools in villages, except Port Lions, had over 87% Native students. The figure was 100% for Akhiok and Karluk. Each village school had 10 to 64 students for kindergarten to grade 12 (Alaska Department of Community and Economic Development, n.d.). Among certified teaching and administrative staff in the Kodiak Island Borough School District (KIBSD), Alaska Natives accounted for 5% in the SY 2000/01.

**Cultural Heritage**

It is a prevalent view that the early influence of Europeans, and the population decrease by epidemics and encroachments from the larger American culture, significantly influenced Alutiiq culture (Partnow, 1993; Pullar, 1992; Pullar & Knecht, 1995). Pullar, an Alutiiq scholar, and Knecht (1995) describe singing, mask carving and kayak building as part of the cultural revival movement in south-central Alaska in the 1990s and state that in the 1980s "there was a growing consensus that these visible symbols of Alutiiq culture had perhaps vanished forever" (p. 14). Facing what had happened, Julie Knagin said:

> ...many years ago our families, our parents were prevented from speaking Alutiiq language. So we didn't get to learn as much. Our parents were punished by the teachers at school if they spoke any of their language. So the message we receive from that was 'Hey our language is not a good one'. In this sense we all became ashamed of it, ashamed of being a native...In that sense our language and culture kinda got lost, and at the same time we sort of lost our identity. We just chose not to practice that. (18 July 2002)

Goddard (1996) classifies Alutiiq language in a category of "spoken by adults but by no or very few children" (p. 3) which accounts for 43% of North American Native languages[22]. Leer (2001) states that "Alutiiq is currently an endangered language" (p. 31), and Fall et al. (2001) suggest that the earliest revitalisation movement is critical to reinvigorate language use. In this sense, a survey conducted in 2002 by the Alutiiq Museum and Archaeological Repository (from now on referred to as the Alutiiq Museum) in Kodiak indicates some language recovery (Hegna, 2003). They identified 45 fluent speakers who were over 55 years old, and stated that people between 40 and 60 years old generally understood the language though could not speak it. While young adults aged between 19-39 could not understand or speak it, school age children between 5-18 knew more words than their older siblings and parents.

A strong cultural revival movement started in Kodiak in the 1980s (Pullar, 1992, 2001; Simeone & Miraglia, 2000) with Alaska Natives' political empowerment as

part of its background (Pullar, 1992; Simeone & Miraglia, 2000). Puller (1992) stated that the focus of the revitalisation was "on strengthening the spiritual connection with one's heritage and sense of identity" (p. 183), and this is echoed by Simeone and Miraglia's (2000) view that the common goal is "restoring a sense of identity and pride to the people of the region" (p. 104). A number of village councils and regional for-profit corporations are currently involved in the movement. Their projects involve language classes, mask carving, archaeological excavations, and events which bring Elders and young people together. The programmes I was studying were a part of this effort and jointly organised by the NVA and the KIBSD.

A woman, probably in her mid 20s, who was working temporarily at the Alutiiq Museum when I visited, said she was currently learning the language, and wished for more opportunities so that more people could learn to speak it. She asserted that her generation had an increasing interest in their heritage and language[23]. Concerning cultural retention, she commented "they [the early European invaders] can take away the language, they can take away ceremonies and clothing, but the real core of the culture such as subsistence activities has remained. It is still there" (Fieldnotes 22/07/02). Whereas traditional expressive culture may not be extensively practised (Fall et al., 2001; Mishler, 2000), many, like this young person at the museum, expressed their view that among Alutiiq people traditional values are firmly held, transcending historical difficulties[24].

While many people believe in cultural revitalisation[25], one of the Elders I met in Old Harbor said he had declined an invitation to one of the cultural camp programmes because "I have nothing to share. Those young people now are surely learning a lot. Even small kids know much more about computers than I do" (Fieldnote 26/07/02). According to Alisha Drabek, Tribal Administrator for the NVA until summer 2002 and one of the key informants, these comments are not rare and they have disheartened many young advocates trying to revitalise their identity and culture. Teri Schneider, another key informant and a camp programme coordinator, supported the view and explained that it usually took time before Elders finally came out to join the camp. But they both stated, and their statement is verified by the Elders who participated in the camps, that even if at the beginning Elders were uncertain about their involvement in the camp, they eventually had positive experiences. This initial reluctance was attributed to generations of discrimination (S. Hegna, personal communication, 25 Nov 2003). However, Shauna Hegna, Alutiiq Programmes Coordinator at the Alutiiq Museum and an Alutiiq person herself, suggested that in the last two decades people "have begun to stand up and fight for our identity" (Hegna, personal communication, 25 Nov 2003) which Pullar (1992) also describes. It is also implied in Knagin's interview:

> ...the best thing we had accomplished from the land claim is that we were able to realise who we are as Native people. Our values are just as important to us as other values are to the other people. We became assertive, and started programs to try to learn our language and to teach our language to younger

> generations, and try to regain our culture through the lifestyle that our ancestors had...the subsistence lifestyle. (18 July 2002)

Cultural revitalisation seems to be gaining strength. In Old Harbor, several local observers stated that the atmosphere among Elders had shifted in the last 10 years and that more were willing to come out to share what they know.

## The Science Camp

Having described the dynamic and complex characteristics of Kodiak societies, this section reports on the motivation of the organisers and on the educational programmes, including their structure and content. I made two visits, in 2001 and 2002, the first of which was to become acquainted with the programmes and to make a research agreements with organisers, and the second was to collect the main data. The semi-structured interviews were all conducted in 2002, but the analysis was based on the understanding and information acquired during both visits.

### Inception and the Role of Organisers

In the mid-1990s Teri Schneider of the KIBSD had attended the 'Academy of Elders' camp with Athabascan people organised by University of Alaska Fairbanks and the Cultural Heritage and Education Institute. The purpose of the camp was to have non-native school teachers understand the cultures they were serving by bringing Native Elders and the teachers together. Schneider is a Kodiak-born Alutiiq with a

strong interest in and concern for cultural heritage and education. Having Schneider as a regional coordinator, the KIBSD took part in a state-wide educational reform project called the Alaska Rural Systemic Initiative (AKRSI), which was implemented under the auspices of the Alaska Federation of Natives, in cooperation with the University of Alaska, funded by the National Science Foundation (Alaska Native/Rural Education Consortium, 2003). The Academy of Elders Camp was listed on the memorandum of agreement, and in 1997, jointly with Afognak Native Corporation and the school district, Schneider coordinated the first camp on Afognak Island. The first camp was for Elders and teachers in Kodiak, but Elders saw it as a necessity to share the experiences with children. In the following year, Schneider added a science component for children to blend traditional knowledge with academic science, and she submitted the combined model to the district. Since then children became the focus of the programme, and the NVA became an organising partner with the KIBSD. Every summer the NVA constructs and manages a camp in Qattani, on the south end of Afognak Island, to host various projects, including the Science Camp and archaeological research on the island. Though a group of individuals was involved in preparation, Schneider served as the main programme coordinator, being responsible for the contents and flow of the camp.

**Camp Description**

During the 2002 Afognak camp, an Alutiiq female school teacher replaced Schneider as a coordinator, though Schneider had contributed to the organisation of it until the

programme started. I found the two camps in 2001 and 2002 very different in terms of the coordinator's approach, the degree of Elders' involvement, the range of activities and the food served: I perceived a considerable difference in the overall atmosphere of the programme. Therefore, though my interview data were all from the 2002 camp, I have used observational and conversational data from both 2001 and 2002 in order to provide a wider perspective on the camp. The difference between the two camps was not solely the result of having a different coordinator[26], though it appeared to be a significant factor. Nonetheless my observations showed that individuals could operate an educational programme very differently even though they claim to hold the same principles. The apparent influence on the children's experiences is discussed later.

*Framework of the Camp: Duration, Place, Participation, Personnel*

In 2001 and 2002, the Academy of Elders/Science Camp was held twice each summer, six nights and seven days per session. Students in grades 2-12 and educators in the Kodiak Archipelago were eligible to apply, but Schneider confirmed that the programme tended to attract younger children. Moreover, while participation was open to all students, many of the applicants were Alaska Natives, predominantly Aluttiq. The 11-page application package included two recommendation forms from adults and a sheet to provide the applicant's proposal for a 'science project'[27] during the camp. In accepting the applicants, Schneider was more concerned about the recommendations than a science project plan as "it

means that there are more people who commit to the child's life" (T. Schneider, 6 Aug 2001). A registration fee of US$30 was required but could be waived. The invitation was distributed in the region several months before each camp through schools, teachers and personal connections. Schneider recalled difficulty in attracting participants at the beginning, but in 2002 there were more applicants than places and the organisers had to turn down some late-comers.

The first Science Camp (Camp 1) in 2002 had 20 students, seven girls and 13 boys, aged between nine and 17. Seventeen of them were under 12 years old, and the main age group was 10 and 11, comprising 12 students (70% of the whole group). They were from six different communities, including a logging camp. Eight lived in Kodiak City, and 12 came from villages, the biggest number (six) coming from Old Harbor. Among all the participants, eight had been on the Science Camp before. Sixteen had Alutiiq heritage, three were European Americans and one was of Mexican descent.

Alutiiq Elders and community members were asked to volunteer to help the young participants learn. Schneider had sent widespread invitations, mostly through "personal network and lots of visits and many cups of tea" (T. Schneider, 6 Aug 2001). The number of Elders and community members varied at each camp session, depending on how many actually signed up, and it was something the coordinator could not determine. For example, Camp 2 in 2001 had seven Elders, eight

educators, and three community members, whereas the Camp 1 in 2002 had four Elders, three educators and two community members, though the camp had more participating children than in 2001.

The four Elders from the 2002 camp all lived in Kodiak City and have been strong supporters of the programme. The two community members were fathers of the participants and it was their first time at the Science Camp. One of the fathers was a science teacher at a high school in Kodiak. There were no other teachers from Kodiak at this camp. The three educators were a science teacher from the AKRSI project, his wife and a facilitator at a science museum in Anchorage. There was a small group of archaeologists who had been working on the island. They also provided experiences in archaeology and information on human history on the island. At the 2002 camp, there were five NVA camp staff, excluding the camp coordinator.

*Camp Structures and Contents*

The campsite, which is only accessible by boat or plane, was situated near a lake and a black sand beach. It consisted of a large kitchen and dining tent, several living tents for the NVA camp staff, two dormitory guests tents, a large wooden-floored tent (a yurt) for gathering, a laboratory tent, *banya* (a steam bath or wet sauna) and three *nuusniik* (toilets). There was everything needed for a simple life but no modern amenities such as a telephone, a washing machine and flush toilet. The generator was on when necessary.

The participants would first fly from their own communities to Kodiak. They were then driven in boats to Qattani. The camp staff would greet and direct them to the living tents. The participants would be divided into several groups, each with a supervising adult, to engage in daily cleaning chores and activities. Cooking was done by hired cooks but the participants were responsible for washing dishes and keeping the places clean. In addition to feeding everyone, the NVA camp staff supported camp life, including boat handling and general maintenance.

The programme management was the responsibility of a camp coordinator. The Alutiiq culture and tradition was stressed throughout the camp. The structure of the 2001 camp was very flexible. It started with a rotation of several activities that the participants would choose from, including making a dead-fall trap with an Elder, carving, drawing and weaving grass baskets. Then at their own pace, through spontaneous events, each participant was encouraged to explore and deepen their interests, and eventually their projects started to be formed, some of which were called 'science projects'. Many of the children simply engaged in creating arts and crafts, and the conventional 'science' was not forced. Their tasks, however, were situated within a broadly categorised science as the tasks naturally required knowledge through systematised observation, experiment and induction (Elliott, 1997), involving research, patience, concentration and the art of expression. There was no fixed plan for the participants to follow once they started to explore their

world. Elders and adults were working together with the participants to assist their learning. Often Elders started to do something on their own, and, usually at the suggestion of the coordinator, this would evolve into a popular project, attracting interest from young participants. The 'evolved' projects in 2001 included making a gill net and setting it in the water, cleaning fish, rowing a wooden boat and making a drum.

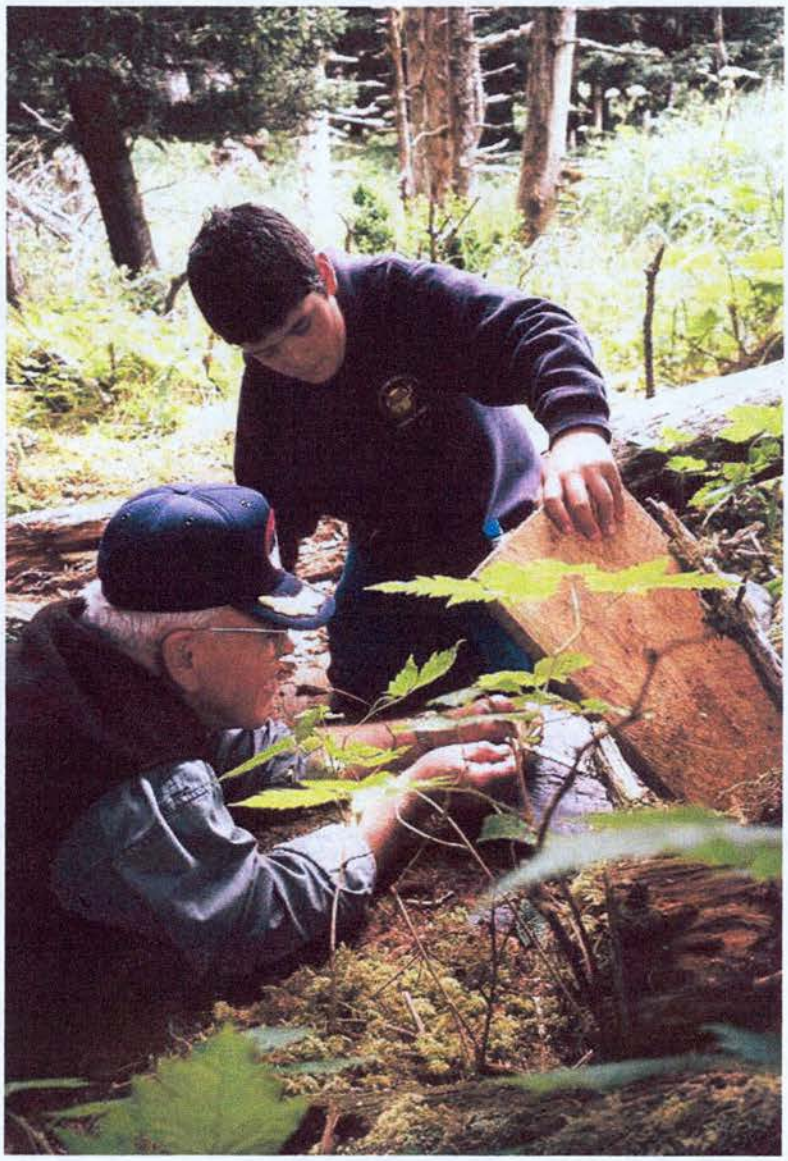


Plate 6.1 An Elder and a boy set up a dead-fall trap during the Science Camp 2002

The 2002 camp, on the other hand, had the appearance of a task-oriented summer school camp. The plan of the day was relatively flexible and there was no strict time-frame. However, it was firmly structured around 'doing science projects'. The clear priority was that students started and proceeded with science projects, aiming to present them at the Rural Science Fair scheduled in the fall. Efforts were made by the coordinator and the science teachers to let children engage in the project in a fun and stimulating way. Other adults contributed to the same direction. Many participants had difficulty in devising a project and adults assisted them in various ways such as simply suggesting ideas through to physically leading a project. By the end, however, most participants had managed to work on various activities. Many participants appeared to have eventually enjoyed what they did, and during the interviews many talked about their project experiences. Examples of their 'research questions' were 'What liquid works best in making sharp *ulu* (a fan-shaped traditional knife)?' and 'Which cooking procedure/technique will render the most seal oil?'

The involvement and clear focus on 'science' was unique about this camp in comparison with the other educational programmes that were operated in Kodiak at the same time. Because the camp was jointly organised with the school district, it could be directly and indirectly tied in with school work. The camp participants from villages said that they were either encouraged or required to participate in a regional annual science fair, where students submit their 'science projects'

combining Alutiiq traditional knowledge and Western science. The awardees would go on to the state level of the competition. Joining in this summer camp gave the students an advantage as they could start earlier with many people's assistance, including guidance from Elders.

The important component of the programme was 'a community life'. It addressed the values inherent in being a responsible community member. Respect to Elders was one of the traditional values which was made explicit and verbally reinforced during the camp. Children were reminded of culturally appropriate ways of showing respect, such as allowing the Elders to eat first, and offering them their chairs during a gathering. When difficulties arose among the participants, members formed a 'talking circle' where everyone in the camp sat in a circle and Elders talked through the problems. Schneider talked about a few incidents in the past where Elders helped solve problems in this way. When 'name-calling' and bullying was discovered among the participants in 2002, a talking circle was held, and the issue of respect was once again presented as an important cultural value.

Finally, 'playing' and exploring were important parts of the camp. The participants enjoyed themselves by swimming in a pond and the sea, playing with tyre swings hung from large trees, chatting with friends and walking to different beaches and a former village site. Some of these activities were organised and others were what the participants did whenever they found time.

*Camp Approach*

Being aware of what is inappropriate about conventional school for the Alaska Native students, Schneider said:

> What we DON'T [original emphasis] want to do is to reinvent a classroom out there. We don't want just classroom stuff where it's all very regimented, "now we are going for math, we are going to do science, now we are going to do this and that", because kids get overwhelmed with that all school year long. What we want to do is to provide an opportunity and an environment where kids are free to explore, and Elders are free to guide them in their exploration, whatever it is it takes off. (14 July 2002)

Because of the way Schneider formulated the camp, all adults became learners and teachers at the same time. Programme content was not firmly planned in advance, but was determined by those who gathered and their particular talents. Schneider firmly set Elders as principal learning resources and spontaneously generated new projects or let projects generate themselves. Appendix 3a shows an example of her way of generating activities. She created an atmosphere where everyone was encouraged to contribute. The NVA camp staff were no exception. They joined in the various sessions, learning and teaching while interacting with Elders and the children. The atmosphere was dynamic, which continuously sparked and increased the level of engagement. I observed children and adults absorbing themselves in their projects, and something was always happening somewhere.

Schneider chose to take an approach which responded to themes which came up during the camp, instead of having a solid plan in advance. In particular, Schneider prepared for the camp using knowledge acquired through her visits and talks with Elders, and responded to what they wanted to share. According to Schneider, the accumulated experiences of other camp staff were also drawn upon when necessary to provide alternative plans.

Nonetheless, Schneider said every year some volunteer teachers expressed uneasiness about the lack of structure during the programme and some considered that the students needed to be more 'on task'. She was aware of different styles of learning and said the camp programme would work in the end "as long as everybody has a little niche" (T. Schneider, 14 July 2002) for their learning style. Such an unstructured, holistic and dynamic approach to learning and teaching does not usually happen in conventional classrooms, where teachers are expected to follow strict teaching guidelines for certain academic outcomes. The learning in the camp in 2001 was certainly not managed by anyone. Though carefully coordinated by Schneider, most school teachers are not used to this approach and were possibly uncomfortable with it. Nonetheless, it may be the conventional approach based on compartmentalised curriculum and one-way teaching which fails to reach some Alaska Native children.

There were three reasons why most participants already knew some of the other children and adults in the camp. Firstly, many of them were related to each other. Secondly, some children repeatedly came to the camp and got to know the same camp staff as well as other children. Thirdly, some camp staff were former teachers, and they used to teach some of the students at schools. This helped create an atmosphere of one large family or a tight-knit community, where children felt safe enough to make mistakes. Moreover, this contributed to what Elders suggested was a Native way of learning, where children learned through observing and trying out by interacting with other generations. Every adult 'kept an eye on' the young people, and they lived and learnt together. It appeared that the young people benefitted more when there were more Elders and community members present.

It was part of Schneider's intention to locate the camp somewhere away from road systems, where everyone is pulled away from modern amenity, and where connection with the land and their heritage is likely to occur. It was not only the remoteness and natural environment but also the culture embedded in this locality and the historical bond to the place that supported the organisers' intentions.

In contrast, the approach in the 2002 camp to children and the methods of achieving goals were similar to those of a traditional school or classroom. The coordinator had made her best effort not to 'reinvent classrooms' and at the same time to have the participants pursue their learning through science projects. The students were

responsive and mostly cooperative, but I observed that resistance to the adults' directive manner gradually developed among some experienced campers. Elders' initiatives and their interaction with students were less obvious than in 2001. However, it did not stop young people being inspired by Elders, for example starting to make bows and spears. At the same time, as in the previous year, I observed that adults, who were initially quiet, became inspired and actively shared their talents with young participants.

## Rationale of the Programme

As Schneider had organised the programme since its inception and established its philosophy, I considered her as the programme designer and focused on analysis of interviews with her. I supplemented this with analysis of published documents on the camp and questionnaires completed by Schneider, as well as my observations, conversations and experiences during the camp programmes, and in Kodiak City and Old Harbor. Other organising members of the NVA and key informants, including Alisha Drabek and Olga Petrikoff, also informed the analysis.

### Background to the Programme

*Cultural Disruption*

As mentioned earlier, Kodiak is influenced by a long historical assimilation policy and denial of identity (Pullar, 1992), and many people I met referred to modern entertainment such as TV as having a disrupting effect on cultural transmission.

Schneider also pointed to a lack of direct cultural experiences among some children, especially in the city, due to urbanisation and modernisation.

During the 2001 camp, the participants were at the beach watching a man cutting up a seal which he just caught. Schneider had said that most of these children had probably never seen a seal being cut, and when I talked with several of them at the beach they confirmed that it was their first time, while some said they had seen it before but they had never skinned a seal by themselves. However this is not surprising at their age. This study does not intend to generalise young people's experiences of the Kodiak Island region, but many of these young people at the camp seemed not to have extensive subsistence experiences. Organisers and many adults who support this camp programme share a concern for cultural disruption among at least some section of younger generations. Schneider said:

> ...people feel almost desperate needs to hang on to whatever we have left...remaining of traditional skills, or traditional language... they really wanted the kids to be the part of whatever we did. (14 July 2002)

In addition, my observations and conversations with various individuals during the fieldwork showed that the increasing ethnic pressures in Kodiak, particularly in the city, have made some Alutiiq people feel that they do not get recognition as native to the area. At the same time, Schneider (1994) states that by continuing to tell young people that their heritage had being taken away, the Alutiiq people were robbing the

youth of their cultural pride[28]. The camp is a response to a concern for cultural discontinuity and to promote people's ability to assert their own identity.

*Academic Performance*

Schneider commented on the poor academic performance of the Alutiiq students in general, especially in science, mathematics and technology, and said that the purpose of the camp is to create "a bridge between academic science and everyday life" by building on what the children are familiar with in their daily lives (T. Schneider, 14 July 2002). Schneider believes that the poor academic results are due to the school's approach rather than students' ability. She writes in her thesis that "Western traditional knowledge that is typically examined through textbooks and lessons clash with many children's own cultural beliefs" (Schneider, 2000, p. 18). She states that Alutiiq traditional knowledge is based on close and long-term observation and experiences, which is fundamental to the nature of science[29]. She further argues that schools should validate the individual's ethnicity and worldview in teaching because learning should be built on the person's knowledge, which is deeply linked to the culture and the environment. Based on this principle, Schneider claimed that their camp programme teaches academic science through the young people's way of understanding of their own environment (T. Schneider, 14 July 2002).

According to Schneider, during a camp programme, participants are to be guided to blend Western knowledge with what they find through exploration of their history, culture and heritage. An outcome of the process of exploration, she says, may include learning subsistence skills, language skills, and a realisation of how science is embedded in language. Schneider further states that the 'Native way of learning', which may work better for Alutiiq children, is likely to happen in the camp setting. Implications for non-Alutiiq participants in the camp is touched on later in this chapter.

Achieving a culturally relevant approach for everyone in a multi-ethnic environment at school presents a complex challenge, not only because various worldviews exist among students, but also because the school system tends to reinforce dominant values which are not necessarily shared by everyone (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970/1994). While this study focuses on the learning at the camp programme, the programme is linked to learning and teaching at school. If Schneider and others (Kawagley et al., 1998) are right and students' academic performance depends on the educational approach taken, teachers of Native children would need to transform their way of thinking to encompass the students' worldviews. The KIBSD organises a science fair which aims to orient teachers towards culturally and environmentally relevant science projects. Schneider considers this as a way to force the teachers to look at their way of teaching science, and by attending the

Science Camp they could learn a more appropriate approach (Schneider, 14 July 2002).

**Objectives of the Programme**

The camp's published documents, which are distributed to participants and guardians, list 11 goals (see Appendix 3b), stressing culture, respect for Elders and academic achievement. The elements analysed from Schneider's interview cover these points and they are interlinked with each other. The theme was 'connection': between traditional knowledge and Western; the camp experiences and school work; present and the past life; people and the environment; and survival as an individual and as a cultural group. Altogether, 'connection' points to the issue of identity.

Schneider claims that the blend of traditional and modern knowledge inspires deeper understanding of why they exist today as Alutiiq descendents, and that this creates the connection between now and then. "Our children continue to be able to be proud of where they come from, no matter how Native they are, or where they live in the world" said Schneider (14 July 2002). This is an opportunity for everyone involved to acknowledge their ancestors' wisdom, which has helped the people to survive for 7,000 years in Kodiak. This awareness is concerned with intangible aspects of being Alutiiq. In addition, concerning the subsistence skills, Schneider sees practical dimensions:

> A lot of people talk today what would happen if we were cut off from Anchorage. If there was a terrorist attack?...if they [children in town] have an opportunity to learn some of those things, then hopefully that knowledge would kick in, if they ever DO [original emphasis] need it. (14 July 2002)

Schneider strongly holds that environmental knowledge has been a key to survival and that as Alutiiq their life is inseparable from the environment. Schneider considers the camp as an opportunity for the young people to recognise their intimate relationship with the environment and think about reciprocity by saying, "if we are surviving off the land, we have an obligation to take care of the land" (14 July 2002). She added that the recent increased threat to the environment, including the large-scale oil spill from the Exxon Valdez in 1989, made people in Kodiak become aware of their relationship, and develop interest in understanding more about their own environment.

However, Schneider believes that a close relationship with the environment may not be appreciated by some young people in the city until "you get them out into the setting where you have to realise that *Safeway* [a supermarket] is not around the corner, and TV is not going to tell them how the weather is going to be" (14 July 2002). The remote setting provides an opportunity for people to appreciate "our environment for what it is" (T. Schneider, 14 July 2002) and forces them to look at survival issues. The aim of the camp is to remind them of their dependency on nature and encourage them intellectually to retain the knowledge.

From this perspective, the rationale of the camp is similar to that of educational programmes in the UK. The major difference is that a direct connection with the environment is not remote history for Alutiiq people, and subsistence is still practised. With a close sense of these intimate relationships, people's awareness of the environment can go deeper, beyond cognitive or historical understanding, to perceiving their direct dependence on the environment and viewing themselves as part of it. Another important difference is that being at camp in Afognak means, for Alutiiq people, not only being away from the modern material world but also from Western influences, and this helps them focus on their own 'culture building'.

Schneider believes that when children make a connection between their heritage and the Western knowledge taught in school, their academic performance will improve. In other words, when they become more confident in being Alaska Natives, they can take on wider challenges, including academic ones (Pullar, 1992). To verify this belief is beyond the scope of this study, but the argument seems to have merit. Kawagley et al. (1998) and Ascher (1991, 2002) describe how different worldviews express the same concept differently, giving 'mathematics' as an example among Yup'ik Elders (Kawagley et al., 1998) and many other non-Western cultures (Ascher, 1991, 2002)[30]. This echoes Schneider's claim that students are intimidated by "academic language" (T. Schneider, 14 July 2002) based on Western understanding of the world, such as 'hypothesis' and 'evaluation', suggesting that these terms are

not relevant to their way of understanding. These examples imply that if things were explained to Alutiiq students based on their worldviews, they would better understand, and this would raise academic scores. According to Schneider, subsequently they could be more confident in being themselves. This claim is repeated by educators I met during the fieldwork and supported by some scholars (Kawagley, 1999; Kawagley et al., 1998; Pullar, 1992).

## Elders' Views

In this section I focus on the extent to which the Kodiak programme organiser's rationale is shared with Alutiiq Elders. As it was the Elders' decision to include the children in the camp, they were partly responsible for creating and designing the programme. As Schneider designed the camp to be centred around what Elders valued, it is understandable that the Elders' comments mostly overlapped with Schneider's explanation. The difference between the two parties was the degree to which academic performance was stressed as a rationale of the camp.

### Sources of Analysis

I conducted semi-structured interviews with two Elders during Camp 1 of 2002, having acquired their written consent following the NVA's guidance. Both Julie Knagin (in her 70s) and Ole Mahle[31] (in his 60s) have joined the camp almost every year, including 2001, the first year I attended. There were a total of seven Elders at

the camp in 2001 and four in 2002, with whom I had a chance to talk and discuss freely. The conversations with the Elders, besides Knagin and Mahle who were officially interviewed, contributed to the analysis.

The topics Knagin and Mahle covered during the interviews included a sense of place, the values of the Science Camp, life in the past, the Native way of learning, etc. Their topics, however, did not totally overlap with each other. Knagin talked powerfully about identity and culture, and intimate and intricate relationships with the environment were strong features of the interview. On the other hand, Mahle described the social change in his lifetime and his views on learning and child rearing. This may be partly a result of their varied life experiences due to the gender and age difference (11 years) and communities where they were raised. Mahle commented on the influx of people into Kodiak city and increasing monetary affluence as well as a loss of a sense of community. He did not practise a subsistence way of life and did not have extensive Alutiiq language skills, though he carried a strong sense of identity and values as an Alutiiq. On the contrary, Knagin, who was raised in Karluk (a much smaller community) until in her early teens, knew about traditional food and understood the language.

**Cultural Continuity and Identity**

Both Knagin and Mahle shared an awareness of social change and subsequent cultural disruption, and expressed the importance of passing on traditional values

such as 'respect' and 'sharing'. For them it meant the survival of the Alutiiq as a people as well as for individuals in terms of physical, spiritual, emotional and intellectual characteristics. Within the same context, identity and appreciation of their heritage were mentioned, and learning a subsistence way of life was suggested as 'a choice' for young people[32].

Knagin considered that the main purpose of the camp was to regain culture and identity based on the Alutiiq lifestyle, which is based on subsistence. Subsistence as cultural continuity seems to have implications both symbolic and practical.

> One thing I would like to see them learn from here is to remember how their ancestors lived. Not to forget where they came from. How their ancestors lived, and if they can just gain that knowledge and know how people went hunting. The way they did hunting, they made their own weapons, traps and such, and made their own cloth. If you don't depend on Safeway, you will never starve being here...if they can learn here the ways how to prepare the food that our ancestors ate in the past. (J. Knagin, 18 July 2002)

The important traditional values included 'respect' for each other and taking responsibility for their actions. In addition, an increase in participants' self-confidence seemed to be a fundamental aim for both Elders. They suggested that self-confidence could be achieved by regaining the culture because one would be proud of the heritage and oneself.

> There is very little respect in these days and age. There is so much violence that we need to try and gain back that respect. If we can get that respect and responsibility...some of those things that I think help a person go forward and enjoy, feeling good about yourself. (J. Knagin, 18 July 2002)

They also stated that every single activity during the camp, including chores, helped children gain confidence as they achieved something new in their life. It was also considered important to pass on an intimate relationship with the environment. Knagin expressed the view that the most valuable thing was "being one with the environment", and stated, "Our value has been the land and the sea", asserting that it was not money but "the land and the sea is our survival tool" (J. Knagin, 18 July 2002). This is linked to knowing the ancestors' wisdom, because it enabled the Alutiiq people to thrive in Kodiak over generations. This knowledge is fundamental to their cultural values, but the two Elders commented that in a practical sense the Alutiiq people nowadays do need money even to continue harvesting from the land and the sea.

**Camp as a Learning Space**

Both Knagin and Mahle stressed that the whole camp setting contributed to enhancing the cultural heritage and functioned as a holistic learning space, which was very similar to the way it would have been in the past. Mahle said when he was first approached by Schneider he was "reluctant" to come out to the camp, but added "that was the best move I made for a long long time" (O. Mahle, 19 July 2002).

He spoke powerfully of his realisation of values of learning through interaction with many people across generations, and the contributions the camp setting made to learning and teaching.

> My first camp reminded me of years I was growing up. It reminded me how much fun it is to be with a lot of people I grew up with, plus all the relatives...It made me think about my growing up, and who were the influences of my life. I never thought about it before...I can think back in my life, and I learnt something from almost everybody I met, whether it was a kindness, how to tie a knot, or game you split. I think that one or two of these kids are going to use something they learnt from this camp...if a kid picks up one positive thing, learning how to sweep in a mess hall, that helps that kid for the rest of his life...It is a long process to learn how to do something right. One of the ways to learn is by observing. Observing for a while, and figure out how to do it. Here they get that opportunity. (O. Mahle, 19 July 2002)

I observed that the camp created an atmosphere of a community, where children grow up with many others, learning by observing their grandparents and relatives. Community members all keep an eye on the children, and everyone shares. The lack of amenities such as TV and radio was believed by Elders and participating adults to significantly contribute to the integrity of the camp. Knagin also commented on the camp as the learning space where participants build connection to the land:

> [I value] the kinship we feel with each other [in the camp]. Being able to share our stories, share with our children. Out here, there is no telephones, no TV, no electronic toys allowed for children. So we are working with in our environment. We are close to our environment, we are close to our land. We hear the birds singing, we hear the noise of other wildlife such as squirrels and different native sounds. I think...you are yourself here. You become yourself. You are relaxed. Nobody tries to impress anybody else. You are just your own self. What else can make you feel better...besides being yourself? (J. Knagin, 18 July 2002)

Behind this value in the camp as learning space, there lies a perception of social change in communities. Both Elders' comments and the conversations I had with other Elders in the camps in 2001 and 2002 indicated concern about a modern society where adults and children tend to have less time and opportunities to interact with each other compared to the time when they were raised. Thus the camp offers a valuable learning space particularly for those adults who consider that interaction with a range of people is important. I need to reiterate here that though this is a perception I drew out of interviews and conversations with a group of Elders and adults I met, it does not necessarily represent the 'reality' of everyone in the Kodiak Island region and should not be taken as a generalisation.

Plate 6.2 Everyone gathers at the beach for steaming a rim for a traditional drum in 2001

**Benefits to Elders**

Mahle's comments earlier showed the camps' influence on him, providing him with a chance to explore the meanings of certain things that had happened to him in growing up. He also said that the camp inspired him to take a mask-carving class at college for a few months with his grandson. Knagin also expressed the camp's benefits to them by saying that the camp rejuvenated the Elders as they enjoyed each other's and the younger generations' company. Her comment was supported by other Elders. Most Elders in the camp said they enjoyed the camp programmes.

## Parents' Views

I interviewed six parents in person either in camp or where they lived, and one parent by telephone. One was the mother of a student who participated in the camp every year except 2002. Two of the parents interviewed were non-Natives and the rest (five) had Alutiiq heritage. From the interviews it didn't seem to be unusual for children to not talk about their experiences in detail with their parents or for the parents not to ask about it. Some parents had expectations which were very different from what the camp actually provided, but all parents I talked with were very positive but often for different reasons.

Conversations with some parents were long and contained various types of information. However, I have concentrated here on what they valued and why they supported their children joining the camp. The perceived influence on their children is also included.

### Values of the Programme

*Enjoyment and a Learning Space*

All the parents interviewed, without exception, said that they most valued the programme because their children enjoyed it very much. Many thought that their children had gained something through their enjoyment of the camp, ranging from cultural knowledge to confidence. A number of parents said that the camp was a precious learning space for their children. Some interviewees stated that the

programme has a 'village atmosphere' and 'responsible structure with trustable people', which coincides with what Elders valued as a learning space. One mother said that "educating children in that way" was getting lost, and "I wanted him [her son] to learn before it's gone" (Mother B, 24 July 2002). A parent's comment below summarises the above:

> My son absolutely loved the camp, just absolutely. The kids are learning without knowing. He doesn't do too well academically at school, so learning in freedom, in a relaxed way was very valuable. (Mother A, 17 July 2002)

Many mentioned the 'holistic learning' as a value of the camp. The learning included 'discipline' and 'respect'. As indicated by Elders, the interviewed parents also perceived that due to less interaction among people where they live, contemporary communities were not teaching certain values to children.

School was considered not necessarily to provide the education that the parents expected but camping offered these learning opportunities. Being away from distractions such as TV was also positively noted by the parents. For most parents, engaging in science itself during the camp was not too important. But one parent said the science element was essential because he chose the camp for his child to provide academic opportunities he could not offer at home.

*Culture and Heritage*

All children of the seven interviewed parents had Alutiiq heritage. The parents appreciated their children's exposure to culture and heritage by saying 'He learnt more about his culture. He was never really exposed to it to that extent', and 'He is proud of himself as he learns more about his culture and tradition'. Some parents had expected substantial subsistence skills to be taught such as cutting fish, hunting, skinning and kayaking.

One father who joined the camp with his daughter provided his observation on how cultural knowledge was being transmitted during the camp:

> Ole was showing these guys how to make dead-fall traps. When we did a language lesson yesterday, Denis mentioned that he had to pull real hard to get some words out, but then he started to remember another thing. I think a lot of things are passed down. My daughter talked to Julie and Kathryn about plants. They didn't know the names, but they had leads. So that is a combination, too. But I definitely see things passed down. (Father A, 18 July 2002)

The comment above is a description of a dynamic process of culture construction and building connection beyond generations. Instead of transmitting something solidly held, knowledge was regained and weaved, sometimes collectively, through interaction between Elders and young people.

One of the points which stood out in parental interview accounts was the frequent usage of the phrase of 'learning more about culture at camp'. 'Native culture' is often seen as something separate from 'daily culture' or something visible (W. Simeone, personal communication, 4 Nov 2003; S. Hegna, personal communication, 25 Nov 2003; T. Schneider, personal communication, 2 Dec 2003). Schneider (Personal communication, 2 Dec 2003) cautions that 'culture' is a highly complex term and that unless the discussion takes place within a defined context, it may misinterpret what the interviewees mean by 'culture'.

The parents I talked with may have meant 'culture' as expressed symbols of traditional culture. At the same time, they valued 'discipline' and 'respect' as learning elements through the programme experiences, and these invisible traditional cultural values are likely to be part of their 'daily culture' which informs their actions and beliefs. Pullar asserts that culture is embedded in people's daily life but that "they have been programmed (by anthropologists and others) that their culture has been lost. With that attitude the small bits of knowledge that can be gained at a camp are viewed as *learning a culture* [original emphasis]" (G. Pullar, personal communication, 23 Nov 2003). This implies that the cultural revitalisation movement is an effort to overcome this internalised 'external claim' towards them. Perhaps in terms of cultural continuity, it is not a tangible learning outcome which is vital, but something behind it which is invisible. In this respect, the Science Camp programme can be seen as an attempt to consciously integrate 'Native' and 'daily'

cultures through active reconstruction and holistic transmission, and its focus can be how intangible aspects of learning effect individual children and an Alutiiq community.

*Perceived Situation in Communities and Expanding the Life Experience*

It has been stated both in the literature and by people I met during the fieldwork that villages, in the general sense, firmly retain their heritage and cultural elements. However, the interviews with the particular group of parents who live in villages indicated various experiences and perspectives on the significance of the programme to their children. This, however, should not be taken as a general picture of village life but reflects the perceptions of the parents and people I conversed with.

A few mothers commented that there was not much for young people to do in their villages, and that they got bored. Joining the camp was something positive for their children to do. Moreover, the parents considered that meeting other people outside the village, going to different places and recognising different ways of dealing with matters would expand their children's learning about life.

One mother who came to help the camp operation suggested a change in her community, by saying her village "used to be like this [the camp] but not any more. The camp makes them interactive. TV, phone...they seem to take some values away. But here he [her son] is forced to interact with adults" (Mother A, 17 July

02). The parents who lived in villages all described in interviews a perceived change in society, and in particular some sense of decline in subsistence activities and the extent to which residents worked together. This is also mentioned by Shugak (1992) with reference to Old Harbor. One mother of the camp participant said:

> When I moved to Old Harbor, old ladies sat on the beach, splitting fish, singing and talking in Alutiiq. That was so nice [with a smile]. Oh boy, they used to make the best smoked salmon. A boat came in and dumped all fish at the beach, and then many old ladies gathered and sat to split fish. Now we don't see it. We may see a couple or something doing it, but not many ladies. We still share food and give each other...fish, seal...Not only among relatives, but anybody. But we don't do that as we used to. (Mother T, 27 July 2002)

I talked with one parent in Old Harbor, who was regarded as one of the active subsistence hunters. The village is surrounded by mountains, water and woods with abundant wildlife. He said he could have taught his children all the necessary subsistence skills and knowledge. Having admitted the benefit of the location and a strong subsistence tradition in the village, he suggested that nowadays the young people, including his children, were not extensively engaged in subsistence.

Young people's cultural experiences in Old Harbor are overviewed by Mishler (2000). He suggests that while some young people have good traditional knowledge and skills, some others have less opportunities to be immersed into them.

Mishler concludes with rather pessimistic views on transmission of traditional knowledge. His study (Mishler, 2000) supports the parental concerns in the interviews and stated values of the programme.

### Perceived Influence of the Camp

Some parents implied that the camp had influenced their child's personal development, indicating that their children had 'grown', and that they were more proud of themselves. Though most did not see any immediate change or direct influence of the camp, they were satisfied because children returned home happy, and they hoped it would have a long-term effect.

## Participants' Views of Experiences

### Participants and Sources of Analysis

Among the 20 participants of Camp 1 in 2002, a total of nine students, eight boys and one girl, were interviewed. Some older children up to age 14 and some 10 and 11-year-olds, whom I had met in the previous year, were also asked to be interviewed. Schneider, who knew the participants well, recommended several children who were likely to be able to verbalise their feelings and opinions. A nine-year-old boy unexpectedly offered an interview, and this became one of the longest I conducted. In order to maximise their experiences of the camp, the interviews were scheduled for the last two full days of the programme, and I interviewed three 11-year-olds and

two 12-year-olds, and one each of 9, 10, 13 and 14 years old. All but one had Alutiiq heritage. Six had repeated the Science Camp, and three were there for the first time. Five had their main residence in Kodiak City, including one who had moved into the city within the past year, and one who travelled between the city and a village. Four interviewees were from two villages, including three from Old Harbor. All the interviews were done in their living tents at camp and lasted 20 to 80 minutes.

In analysing their views of experiences, I also incorporated observational data and general conversations with them. The written questionnaires on environmental concepts (Appendix 1c) were administered for me by the 2002 coordinator, and information from these was also included in the analysis.

**Motivation for Participation**

Naturally at their age, family (mostly parental) encouragement was influential in motivating the children to join the camp. A few said they were sent to the camp and had no choice. The motivation of the rest was largely categorised as social or personal spheres.

The category of 'social sphere' includes friends and school-related motivation. Some decided to join in because of friends' recommendations that the camp was a 'fun' thing to do. Playing and meeting with friends motivated some children. Two

boys from the same school mentioned that they wanted to get on with their science projects as the science fair was a requirement at their school.

The 'personal sphere' category includes 'having fun' and 'time away from home'. One mentioned a personal commitment over the years by saying he had participated every year and did not want to stop coming. Most camp returnees said they came back because they enjoyed it the first time. One said he returned because he could eat seal meat at the camp, which he rarely did at home in town.

**Views of their Experiences**

*Children's Perception on Enjoyment and Non-Happy Elements*

Most participants clearly stated that they enjoyed the camp and their interview accounts conveyed this in various ways. Many gave examples of what their 'fun' meant. They included the time at the camp in general, science projects, food, creating something, being with friends and the swings. However, from observations, the camp's organisational structure such as flexibility in schedule and contents clearly contributed to these elements and their sense of enjoyment. Moreover, a large family atmosphere with Elders, community members and relatives is inseparable from their enjoyment. As their activities were observed as interaction with the surroundings, the landscape also significantly influenced their experiences.

From their interviews, I categorised what they said they did not enjoy into four groups: camp life, human relationships, external aspects, and approach of the programme. Under the category of 'an approach of the programme', they were not happy about the inter-related issues of volume of work and writing, less hands-on activities, and being urged or forced to do things. These comments came mostly from the participants who had done the programme previously and is linked to the differences between the camps in 2001 and 2002. Most children accepted the directive manner of adults, and to a certain extent some children showed an understanding of its necessity. During the interviews all repeat attendees, except one, referred to the stricter organisation of the year (2002), compared with their past experiences. Nonetheless, enjoyment was high and most of them said without hesitation that they would return to the Science Camp in the future. The new campers, on the other hand, while acknowledging some discontent at aspects of the camp approach, welcomed it as 'way better' than school, having many breaks during the day and no homework. They also said they would come back again. The interview data suggest that the difference in coordinators' approach between the two camps as a whole did not substantially affect the participants' views of the camp experiences.

This study does not evaluate the programme. How the participants perceived the way the programme was handled may be of interest to the organisers but their perceptions do not suggest to what degree the programme goals were achieved or the

extent of learning. Schneider, a programme organiser, stated in her interview that their intention was to a take long-term view, encouraging the students to come back. For the organisers, returning participants are an indication that the young people are getting something out of the programme.

*Value of the Science Camp*

Every participant made a positive comment about such a programme being organised, though some did not elaborate. Some mentioned that the programme helped a science project at school, some said participants usually have fun through the camp, and some said it provided learning.

> CC: Kids learn more science. Some schools don't have science fair.
> HJ: It's good to have a science camp because people can keep up their project at school. They can do some of it here, and some of it at school. This helps science fair projects.
> SL: The camp teaches us about the outdoors and plants that you can eat and can't eat, and plants' medicinal use.
> IM: It's good to have a science camp because kids can work hard and learn. It's better than sitting around and watching TV.

*Learning and Outcomes of the Programme*

The young people talked about their learning including their experiences at camps in the past. Their perceived learning ranged from moral aspects to practical skills. They did not use terms such as 'identity', 'connection between the heritage and

Western science', 'connection to the environment' or 'self-confidence'. Nonetheless some of these elements are evident in what they said.

Most children said that they learnt about 'Alutiiq culture' during the camp. Being asked what they meant by 'Alutiiq culture', they mostly referred to Alutiiq words. However, even if they only referred to Alutiiq words as 'culture', virtually everything the interviewees mentioned as 'learning' had something to do with some aspects of Alutiiq culture. For example, a 13-year-old boy said he learnt "a whole a lot more" about his culture through the programme, and in addition to the language, he articulated that he learnt about "the people that lived here, and what they used to use" (UL, 19 July 2002).

An 11-year-old boy said he learnt more about culture when he was at the camp because at home he was usually too busy playing with friends and video games. As mentioned earlier in the context of parents' interview accounts, these particular young participants also appeared to consider something called 'culture' as what they learn externally. In fact, in Alaska, 'culture class' is a subject at school, and they have 'culture teachers' who teach languages and traditional skills such as sewing and dancing as part of the compartmentalised conventional curriculum. While this may be a laudable attempt in the current situation to integrate local culture into the school curriculum, it is essentially based on Western framework, which sends a signal to some students that their 'culture' is something to be learnt separately from daily life.

At the same time, however, these young people become aware that these skills are part of their heritage.

Another 11-year-old said the camp programme taught the participants practical environmental knowledge. He continued: "I know you could use red cedar bark to keep bugs away" (SL, 19 July 2002). At one point during the camp children spread chipped cedar bark all over the tent floors, and some children put pieces into their bags to take home. SL's comment indicates the integration of 'learning culture' and connection with the environment and this integration was assisted by the landscape in Qattani.

As for what they learnt, during the interviews many participants referred to their science projects, in which the camp coordinator in 2002 made sure they engaged. One boy in particular was enthusiastic about his projects over the years, mostly describing how he made something as part of the project, rather than a scientific finding or a realisation of the connection between himself and the heritage. This seems to be a matter of personal development, as they are still in their early teens. If and when they become aware of the organiser's message that 'science is embedded in their everyday life', and to what extent it matters for them to recognise it, is a separate discussion and requires a longitudinal study.

Talking about the influence of the camp, four children implied personal growth, spiritual peace, and getting to know Alutiiq culture. Following what Elders suggested during the interviews, these categories have a strong link to 'self-confidence', or in Knagin's words, 'feeling good about themselves'. The connection with their ancestral past was mentioned by a few participants, but no one particularly stated that the programme influenced their relationship with the environment. An interview analysis of a 10-year-old boy shows that he seemed to have felt a connection with his ancestors for some time. For example, being asked if he felt a special relationship to his land, he answered "Yes, anywhere that's native land", and said he had felt like this "since I was small" (TQ, 20 July 2002). He articulated the joy of being in the quietness and nature of the Afognak Island. Even though he had already become aware of his heritage, his comment revealed that the camp further increased his awareness as follows:

> TT: Do you feel any influence from the camp?
> TQ: Yes. I think it brought me more spiritual peace. Because I know how much at war they were, and how horrible their life could be, and how peaceful their life could be, our ancestors.

## Young People's World

### Different Experiences in a Village and a City

The assumption of contextual difference between life in a city and a traditional village was mentioned earlier. From conversations and interviews, it became apparent that the difference affected some young people's daily experiences. As the study programme focuses on young people and part of the programme rationale is a concern about cultural disruption, it is necessary to note how young people perceive their daily experiences. The interview accounts indicated a range of experiences even among a limited number of young people within the same communities and households. Perceptions illustrated here come from analysing the 2002 camp participants' interviews, as well as conversations and observations throughout the fieldwork, and are not intended to represent the young population of the city or villages. Nonetheless, it is helpful to gain insight into participants' city or village life.

Most participants interviewed, except those from Old Harbor, did not eat much meat which came directly from local land and sea mammals. A boy whose father was not an Alutiiq descendent and lived in a city said he hardly ate Native food, and added "I usually eat junk food" (CC, 20 July 2002). An 11-year-old boy who also lived in Kodiak said he liked wild food, but that he did not often have it in town. On the

other hand, three interviewees from Old Harbor had eaten a variety of land food but responses indicated different lifestyles within the same community or household. A 10-year-old boy from Old Harbor said that more than half of what he consumed was country food, but that his sister who lived in the same house ate more of 'the junk food'. A 12-year-old boy also from Old Harbor said he ate more store food at home, however, he stated that it was not because of his preference but the choice of his mother. These interview comments substantiate a concern that Schneider and Elders expressed as background to the camp programmes that, at least with regard to food and subsistence, not all young people are extensively exposed to cultural elements.

In Kodiak City, the interviewees had a chance to go fishing and camping, but not to the extent of those who lived in Old Harbor. Even among villages, experiences of individuals seemed to vary. When a seal was caught and brought back to the beach in the 2002 camp, children became excited to see it. QT, from one village, started running toward the seal by shouting "Never seen it before out of water!"; but BC, from another village, quietly said "I have seen it millions of times" (Fieldnotes,17/07/02).

A boy from the city who often visited Port Lions found freedom in the village. He described the village life as follows.

UL: Yeah, there are only 175 to 200 people, 2 schools, pre-school, kindergarten to 12th grade, no cops but VPSO [Village Public Safety Officer]...small town. Just you can do everything you want to do. It's fun, I like it.
TT: What is the fun thing you can do in the village and can't in Kodiak?
UL: Riding 4-wheelers, staying up late...there's a curfew in Kodiak, I think it's 9.30, 10pm our age. (19 July 2002)

**Relationship with the Environment and Daily Life**

From interviews and conversations, it became clear that in their daily lives young people had various degrees of interactive experiences with the natural environment, such as fishing and hunting with their families. More appeared to fish than hunt, and some did more than others. Concerning outdoor activities in general, bike riding was very popular and some children showed a strong interest in 4-wheeler riding and motocross. Some played sports extensively, and some spent many hours a day watching TV.

Through the interviews and the written questionnaires, participants said that for them nature was 'everything', 'my home', 'just playing buddy' and 'spiritual, life, plants and wilderness'. One said 'my ancestors used all that', and another wrote 'The land is where we live in, water is where fish and seals live'. Though I could not validate all the written statements with interviews, the responses indicated their intimate feelings about nature. Some were more aware of the connection between the

traditional life and the natural environment than the others. Everyone except one person said during interviews that they had a respect for nature and animals.

Most participants did not see a sharp distinction between people and nature. When they were asked if they thought people were part of the nature or separate from it, typical answers were: 'It's a little bit of both', and 'They [people] are meant to be part, but they are not following it'. Among nine interviewees, only one answered 'I don't know'. By being part of nature, the children seemed to mean 'living in harmony' with nature. People destroying nature was implied as evidence of being separate.

Most interviewees said people cannot control the nature. One participant, who was a non-Alutiiq descendent, said "yes, we can, but I don't think we should" (IM, 19 July 2002), and another Alutiiq participant said "yes, sometimes" (CC, 20 July 2002). Some put forward a strong argument about why people are not superior to nature. Some instantly stated that nature was superior to humans.

Everyone who was asked strongly agreed that people should help and protect nature, except one saying "They will try" (GT, 20 July 2002). Being asked in what way people could help and protect, they listed wild animal protection, reducing the number of trees cut down, and reducing overall human activities which cause pollution. Everyone was well aware of human impact and the damage to the

environment. These comments show that certain environmental ethics and attitude are already instilled in them, though to what extent the camp programme had an influence on how they actually behaved in their everyday life requires further study.

**Alutiiqness**

I asked the interviewees as part of confirmation of their background whether they were Alutiiq. Other than three participants from Old Harbor, none of them said 'yes' immediately. Their answers were: 'part of Alutiiq', 'half [Alutiiq], and half Yup'ik', 'My mum said I am 8 or 9% Alutiiq', and 'A little...I got a quarter, I think'. One boy said "They say I am Alutiiq, and I feel more Alutiiq when I am here [at the camp] just because I am around a lot of people who know culture better than me" (QT, 19 July 2002).

During the camp, 'Alutiiqness'[33] was promoted throughout. While some children expressed a desire to get to know the Alutiiq culture as their heritage, some participants in their early teens seemed to be less certain about their identity. This uncertainty may partly come from their age, from their mixed heritage, and perhaps indicate the influence of the historic oppression of 'Alutiiqness' as mentioned earlier[34]. The Science Camp attempts to rebuff the 'myths' of cultural loss, and during the camp heritage appeared to be reinforced among the Alutiiq participants.

Nonetheless, not all participants were Alutiiq descendents, and the camp goals included intending to aid non-natives' better understanding about the Alutiiq culture. The justification was that anyone, regardless of her/his ethnicity, should understand the history and indigenous culture of the place where they live. Inter-cultural education is clearly important in a land where the majority of modern history is of brutal invasion. A participant who was non-Native said during the interview that he learnt Alutiiq language and culture. When the non-Native participants were listening to the Alutiiq Elders or told to respect each other, they appeared to accept this as part of their learning, rather than take the view that it applied only to these Alutiiq participants. It is beyond the scope of this study to explore to what extent the participants were conscious about ethnicities and cultural distinctions. However, being exposed to Alutiiqness at camp, which is so firmly embedded in the land in which they live, and making friends across ethnicities, appears to contribute to a peaceful and tolerate multiethnic society.

## Discussion and Findings

### Cultural Connection and Academic Performance

Some Alutiiq people were concerned about cultural discontinuation among a section of young people which they believed had led to social problems (Pullar, 1992). The Science Camp was a response to the Elders' call to re-establish their identity by having older and younger generations brought together. The camp was also planned to encourage academic confidence among children, connecting school and traditional science.

Schneider believes that the Native way of learning, which is based on observation and experiential learning, is likely to happen in the camp setting. There have been various attempts at bridging the two different worlds, the Native and mainstream non-Native (Barnhardt, 1988; Kawagley & Barnhardt, 1999; Lipka et al., 1998). In the 2002 camp, both Native 'learning space' and the conventional school teachers' approach were observed. Some Native educators across Alaska, including an Athabascan guest at the camp, have implied that the school's approach during the programme, including competition and forms of punishment-reward, is not a part of traditional teaching. However, apart from its 'Nativeness', this approach may work for some children. After all, culture is not static, and it is constantly adjusting to external influence and internal changes. The 'cultural approach', and indeed teaching in general, may differ depending on time and space as well as individuals.

However, there is the possibility of what Bourdieu and Passeron (1970/1994) call "insurmountable contradictions" (p. 12) embedded in teacher training. Theorising to include all teaching actions, such as those within one-cultural society and families, they propose that "all pedagogic action is, objectively, symbolic violence insofar as it is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power" (1970/1994, p. 5). Bourdieu and Passeron (1970/1994) distinguish 'teaching cultural relativism' from 'giving a relativistic education', and state that the former is for individuals who "have already been educated according to the principles of the cultural arbitrary of a group or class" and the latter is to produce "a person who was the native of all cultures" (p. 12). While the latter may contradict with interpretations of 'identity', few educators, irrespective of their ethnicities, could completely avoid the former standpoint. How to overcome such contradictions and deciding what elements of culture to teach are challenges that educators concerned with the place-based and culturally appropriate education must face.

**Subsistence and Identity**

During the camp, many Elders stated that 'subsistence' or 'traditional harvest' was the Alutiiq lifestyle, and it was the base of their culture. My fieldwork data, supported by a body of literature, shows that for the Alutiiq subsistence and identity are inseparable.

During the study programme in Kodiak, subsistence activities appeared not always to be systematically conducted or stressed. However, this does not imply that the programme was not authentic because traditionally such activities would have been dependent on weather and animal movement, rather than planned in advance. Moreover, a body of literature suggests that distribution of traditional knowledge is segmentary, with knowledge being preserved through distribution in the memories of different individuals (Cohen, 1993; Hobart, 1993). Therefore, various culture bearers carry different knowledge and skills, passing them on to some rather than to everyone. Conversely, judging from the curriculum and school systems, conventional Western education tends to carry an idea of everyone of the same age learning the same thing in the same manner at the same time and to a certain level.

Moreover, the camp did not teach subsistence 'skills' to the extent that the children could become independent. It was never their objective to make the participants be able to practise subsistence from the day after the camp finished, but rather to provide an opportunity for them to understand the subsistence 'way of life'. Schneider said "it would be a rare thing that one week out at camp is going to have a major life change event for any individual, whether it would be a kid or an Elder" (14 July 2002). This seems to understate the impact of the programme as several Elders claimed significant effect. Clearly Schneider was aware of the limitations of the camp and was under no illusion that subsistence skills could be mastered in one 6-day camp per year. The programme offered the participants an opportunity to sense

what subsistence life would have been like through their science project, visits to archaeological sites and stories from Elders. Invisible aspects of 'experiencing subsistence activities' function to instil symbols which associate the participants with Alutiiqness (Partnow, 1993).

Being aware of the assimilation history and its consequences, the educated young-adult generation is highly motivated to revitalise their culture. Many claim that internal aspects of culture have been kept intact. These advocates seemed to be confirming their identity, choosing which cultural knowledge and skills to be constructed (Pullar & Knecht, 1995), and maintaining pride in their traditional relationship with the natural environment. Sharing certain cultural concepts may be enough to carry on collective identity as Alutiiq, regardless of whether or not they practise the subsistence lifestyle themselves. Pullar (1992, 1995) states that Alutiiq people must have control over defining who they are rather than that control resting in the hands of others, as it has in the past. The cultural reconnection that I witnessed through the Science Camp was an example of this exercise.

There were indications that the young participants I interviewed and their parents tended to feel that they are not much exposed to 'Native culture' in their daily life. The Science Camp is viewed as an effort to integrate 'Native' and 'daily' cultures through active culture building and transmission in a context where invisible and intangible as well as practical aspects of learning are valued. However, this cultural

construction is complex and not free from tension. As discussed throughout the chapter, each individual, including children and Elders, has had different experiences, and so the meaning of identity is personal and the concept of being Alutiiq is different for everyone. Crowell and Lührmann (2001, p. 69) describe how each individual confronts shared traditions, practices and beliefs in different way and makes different choices. During one interview, a 10-year-old boy was critical about some camp participants who caught red squirrels by a dead-fall trap and did not eat them, saying "I think they are not being very Native, or spiritual. You eat what you kill" (TQ, 20 July 2002). One night during the camp, participants were discussing how to sharpen stone *ulu*. When someone said "We can use a knife sharpener", someone else opposed this and said "It's not a Native way" (Fieldnote, 19/07/02). What is acceptable as a Native way for everyone? How should some perceive themselves when their way is considered non-Native by other Alutiiqs, and what does it mean if a Native way at camp is different from their practice at home? The educational programme as a process of cultural revitalisation in the contemporary Kodiak context contains highly complex elements and challenges.

**Coordinators' Approach and the Young People's Experiences**

I observed two Science Camps, each with a different coordinator, and found the camp atmosphere and the coordinators' approaches to be very different. Particularly because many statements during the interviews with children were

linked to the coordinator's handling the programme, I was interested in how the coordinators' approach affected the participants' experiences.

The two different coordinators of the programme, though they were both Alutiiq with school teaching experience and shared the same programme aims and philosophy, operated the camps very differently. However, these differences did not seem to greatly affect the participants' perceptions of their experiences. The participants all considered that the camp was enjoyable, and most of them affirmed that they would return to the camp. Most interviewees stated what they learnt through the programme, outcomes which were linked to Alutiiq culture. Some participants thought the camp would help their school work for the science fair. They perceived the programme experiences to have influenced their spiritual peace, personal growth and knowledge of their heritage.

By maintaining natural flow and flexibility in the programme, all adults in camp, including Elders, became willing to offer and share their skills and knowledge, and this benefitted not only the young participants but also the adults themselves. The camp was transformed into a tight-knit community and inspiring learning space. Some people who were interviewed felt that compared to the past the contemporary communities were less interactive, and were not transmitting cultural values to children to the extent they used to. The camp's atmosphere was viewed as valuable for children's development. Cultural values and human skills were passed on to the

participants, and the entire structure of interaction with other people helped the participants develop.

**Education for Sustainability**

Based on the understanding that the Alutiiq people have relied heavily on the natural environment for their survival, the organisers stressed looking after the environment as a reciprocal obligation. Though not systematically 'taught', it was the programme's intention that the participants would realise that the traditional usage of the natural environment was sustainable. The participants were encouraged to become aware of this because of the location chosen for the programme; a former village with strong associations to traditional harvesting and cultural life. To what extent the participants actually recognised this would require a further longitudinal study.

The AKRSI science teacher Alan Dick (18 July 2002) and Kawagley et al. (1998) suggest that the Alutiiq and Yup'ik worldview incorporates an element which is missing from Western science: spirit. Kawagley et al. (1998) argue that having a spiritual element leads to acknowledgement of humanity's dependence on the ecosystem, reverence for and a sense of responsibility for protecting the environment, and appreciation of the mysteries of the universe. This suggests that simply through cultural worldviews and their epistemology, the Science Camp could lead the participants to awareness of interdependency with and responsibility for the

environment. Reconstructing relationships with the environment based on the Alutiiq worldview has clear and direct implications for education for sustainability.

Bridging traditional knowledge and Western scientific understanding may have an advantage for education for sustainability. First, when knowledge based on one system is verified by another, it strengthens learning in both. Secondly, in the wake of quantum physics, traditional Newtonian science has been criticised as materialistic and mechanistic, and authors have advocated relational and holistic thinking (Capra, 1997; Wheatley, 1999). The knowledge system in the context of the Alaska Native is based on relational thinking. Thus acquiring Western terms to explain their system has a benefit. By doing so, the Alaska Native science gains understanding from the others and the Native way of learning could inform models that some Western thinkers advocate concerning education for sustainability. Thirdly, as the Euro-American framework tends to be used as a universal reference[35], understanding discussion of 'sustainability' among the world's mainstream will be helpful for Alaska Natives. In reality the Alaska Natives will need to deal with sustainability issues in the Euro-American centred construction of the world. However, this assumes that their learning is firmly embedded in their own system first, and does not mean that Natives would learn about the mainstream thinking at the expense of their own.

Irrespective of relationships with the dominant Western educational framework, however, creating culturally appropriate education based on Alaska Natives' environment and heritage is a challenging but long overdue task. A body of research around culturally appropriate education has been built up (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2003) and the issue is increasingly recognised by wider public. About 100 years ago, Sir Patrick Geddes levelled criticisms at Scottish school education (Geddes, 1904). Geddes emphasised the importance of experiential learning, joy and artistic mind, and considered learning only about reading, writing and arithmetic as far from real education (Boardman, 1944, p. 299). Having observed the Science Camps, these criticisms seem to partly overlap with what some Alutiiq educators try to address in terms of the substance of education. As the Science Camp and other similar programmes gain experience, such an approach may develop into a learning and teaching model which not only meets the needs of the Alutiiq people but illuminates the essence of education.

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Notes:

[1] In this chapter, I follow the usage of 'Elder' in the literature concerning Alutiiq people, rather than 'elder', to emphasise their position as culture bearers rather than referring to an age category.

[2] The term 'Eskimo' has widely been considered insulting because it was coined by outsiders and said to mean 'raw meat eaters'. However, more researchers now believe that the term is derived from an Ojibwa word meaning 'glass shoes weaver' or 'netting snowshoes' (Kaplan, 2002). While 'Inuit', meaning 'people' or 'persons' in Inuktitut, is widely used in Canada, most Alaska Natives continue to accept the term 'Eskimo'. Only the Iñupiat in northern Alaska can be called 'Inuit', because other native languages in Alaska (except Iñupiaq, the language of Iñupiat) do not recognise the word 'Inuit'.

[3] An array of different terms to identify the Native people in Kodiak were used and still exist such as Aleut, Sugpiaq, Pacific Eskimo and Koniag. The word 'Alutiiq' was coined in 1970s by a linguist, and I adopted the term in this thesis as it has been

widely accepted in public arenas (Mulcahy, 2001; Pullar, 2001).

[4] According to the US Census Bureau, 'American Indian and Alaska Native' is a person having origins in any of the original peoples of North and South America (including Central America) and who maintain tribal affiliation or community attachment.

[5] The externally given name 'Aleut' was initially used as a general label for peoples in Southern Alaska and has caused confusion (Leer, 2001). Therefore, while the term is still used to refer to Unangan, Alutiiq and sometimes Yup'ik people in literature, this study refrains from using the term 'Aleut' unless it is used in the cited paper and its reference is unspecified.

[6] The Alutiiq language is also known as Suk, Sugpiaq, Sugcestun, Pacific Eskimo or Pacific Yup'ik (Alutiiq Museum and Archaeological Repository, 1997).

[7] The language loss is observed around the world. Concerning the Ainu language, for example, due to the systematic oppression and an aggressive language eradication policy by the Japanese government in the past, there is no longer any community where the Ainu language serves as the primary medium of communication (DeChicchis, 1995). Scots Gaelic, one of Europe's oldest indigenous languages, was spoken by only 1.6% of population in Scotland in 1981 and 1.4% in 1991 (General Register Office for Scotland, 1993).

[8] A story of a massacre in 1784 on a small island on the east side of Kodiak has been passed down among Alutiiq people in Kodiak with its place name 'Awa'uq', meaning 'to become numb' (Crowell & Lührmann, 2001; Pullar & Knecht, 1995).

[9] Crowell and Lührmann (2001, p. 70, note No. 32) cite various sources for the estimated original population of the Kodiak archipelago as being between 8,000 and 6,500.

[10] Russian Orthodox religion was introduced to the area in the late 18$^{th}$ century.

[11] Over 9% of Alaska Native 7$^{th}$-12$^{th}$ graders in the school year 2000/01 dropped out of school,which made up 35% of total drop-outs (Department of Education & Early Development, 2003).

[12] The concept of 'race' here is by self-identification by people, and considered as socio-political constructs by the US Census Bureau.

[13] The NVA is a federally recognised tribal government, representing the original inhabitants and their descendents of Afognak Island.

[14] In this section, statistics and information about communities are mainly drawn from Alaska Department of Community and Economic Development.

[15] Labels of races are complex. I have adapted the term 'white' which is widely used in statistical literature to mean Caucasian persons or European descendents in contrast to "racialised ethnic minorities" (Song, 2003, p. 15).

[16] This means Alaska Natives alone or in combination with one or more races.

[17] Ouzinkie, Port Lions, Larsen Bay, Karluk, Old Harbor, and Akhiok.

[18] The Taquka'aq Steering Committee's article titled 'Law of the Land' (2001) describes the sense of injustice and humiliation felt through being regulated by European culture, and concludes that assimilation and regulation have forced Natives to the urban metropolis to sustain a monetary lifestyle with disease, drunkenness and dishonour. It also states that hunting, fishing and gathering is a survival mechanism inherent to the Alaska Native, and that their practice may offend the governmental regulations but not the laws of nature.

[19] According to a survey conducted in 1990s by the Division of Subsistence, Alaska Department of Fish and Game, for example, an estimate of harvests per person in Old Harbor reduced from 464lb in 1983 to 300lb in 1997, though Kodiak City showed a slight increase (Subsistence Division, n.d.; Wolfe & Walker, 1987).
[20] For discussion on a highly complex notion of 'identity', see Song (2003) and Bourdieu (1984).
[21] The Alaska Department of Fish and Game survey shows that 96.5% of Kodiak Native households said they used 'country food' in the previous 12-month period, compared 88.5% who said they harvested it.
[22] Goddard (1996) identifies 209 native North American languages still in use in 1995, but states that nearly 80% of them are at high risk as hardly any children speak them.
[23] The museum's survey shows that nearly 90% of the young respondents (12-30 years old) are interested in learning the Alutiiq language (Hegna, 2003).
[24] Hegna states that although some aspects of culture may have been less evident in Alutiiq society during the oppressive times of occupation, "we have always maintained the invisible parts of our culture and people have held onto the visible parts of culture - they were just quietly held out of the limelight until the next generation was ready to use them" (S. Hegna, personal communication, 25 Nov 2003).
[25] For example, the Museum's survey (Hegna, 2003, p. 30) revealed that 93% of the respondents either agree or strongly agree that 'their community should make an effort to teach Alutiiq'.
[26] Other factors include different individual participants, such as Elders, community members and teachers, different ratio between children and Elders, weather, separate arrivals of children to the site, different staff, etc.
[27] According to the application package, the 'science project' should be environmentally and/or culturally relevant to the Alutiiq people and the Kodiak Archipelago, reflecting the Aluttiq values.
[28] Hegna shares her family's and personal experiences, describing how racism affected the Alutiiq people whom she is associated with, and that despite difficulties, her father taught his children how to live off the land. She said, "our people have been told for years by outside researchers and people that we don't have our culture because we don't wear it on our sleeves. We have been told these things for so long that our people have begun to believe it themselves" (S. Hegna, personal communication, 24 & 25 Nov 2003).
[29] Kawagley et al. (1998) argue that indigenous knowledge systems are a body of scientific knowledge whose epistemology differs from that of Western science.
[30] Ascher (1991) states: "Mathematics has no generally agreed definition...their [historians, philosophers] definitions of mathematics are based solely on the Western experience even though they are often phrased universally. As a result, the category 'mathematics' is Western and so is not to be found in traditional cultures. This is not to say that the ideas or concepts we deem mathematical do not exist in other cultures; it is rather that others do not distinguish them and class them together as we do." (p. 3)
[31] He did not consider himself as an 'Elder'. But as he had an 'Elder's role' during the camp, I describe him as such.

[32] Knagin said: "...[I want younger generations to learn subsistence skills] so that they have an option. If they choose to live in that lifestyle, wanting to know how it's like, how it's done..." (18 July 2002)

[33] The complexity of Alutiiq identity, due to its cultural development and contact with the outside world, has troubled the people themselves (Pullar, 2001). Pullar (2001), an Alutiiq scholar with a Scottish background, said if someone is Alutiiq or not is determined by kinship rather than percentage of Alutiiq blood. Schneider verified it saying "if a person can show ancestry to people that they know are from certain place of the island, they are part of us" (14 July 2002).

[34] Song (2003) explores identity issues in literature around mixed race people in the world, and offers some findings, including that struggling to affirm who they are may make people more aware of their identity, citing a study which shows that monoracial people feel more assimilated into the mainstream. She also draws on the case of Pacific Islanders' multiethnicity; they choose to emphasise one from many 'identities' while holding onto others (Song, 2003).

[35] There is an awareness that Western science is not the universal expression of science (Ascher, 1991, 2002; Kawagley et al., 1998; Reiss, 2001). Reiss (2001) claims that science is one way of representing reality and "all science is set in a cultural milieu that we cannot validly locate a single global non-ethnoscientific science" (p. 10).

# Chapter 7: 'Bonding with the Land' in Russian Mission, Alaska (USA)

As I flew from Bethel in early March 2002, the grey-blue ice covered flat land near the mouth of the Kuskokwim River and it seemed to sprawl endlessly with countless winding tributaries and frozen lakes. After a while thin forests and hills appeared abruptly, and I spotted a group of houses in the vast landscape. The Yup'ik village, with 320 residents and 80 houses, nestled on the slope of the river bank surrounded by hills that are covered with spruce forests. I was the only passenger from Bethel, and the pilot made sure that before landing I counted about 20 moose in the willow trees just across the Yukon River from the village. I had arrived in Russian Mission.

This chapter examines another study group in Alaska. It first illustrates features and historical events specific to Russian Mission to situate it in the larger Alaskan context described previously, followed by a contemporary description of the village. The organisers' rationale for the educational scheme is explored. Then the community's views towards the programmes are examined as is the extent to which organisers' perceptions overlap with those of community members. Relationships with the land and aspects of their traditional beliefs are paid special attention. Finally the section explores the young people's perceptions of the programme experiences and their relationships with the land.

## Russian Mission Background Information

### Geography and the Environment

The hamlet of Russian Mission is situated on the west bank of the Yukon River in the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta, about 300km up river from the coast (Figure 6.2 & 7.1). It is about 600km west of Anchorage, and the flight takes about 40 minutes in a twin-engine four seat aircraft from Bethel, the regional centre. Its approximate position is Latitude 62° North and Longitude 161° West. The nearest village is 40km away to the west, and the next closest is 80km to the east-north-east. There is no constructed road in the entire area. All over the delta, villages and communities are physically isolated and the usual means of transportation are a plane, a boat in summer or a snow machine in winter.

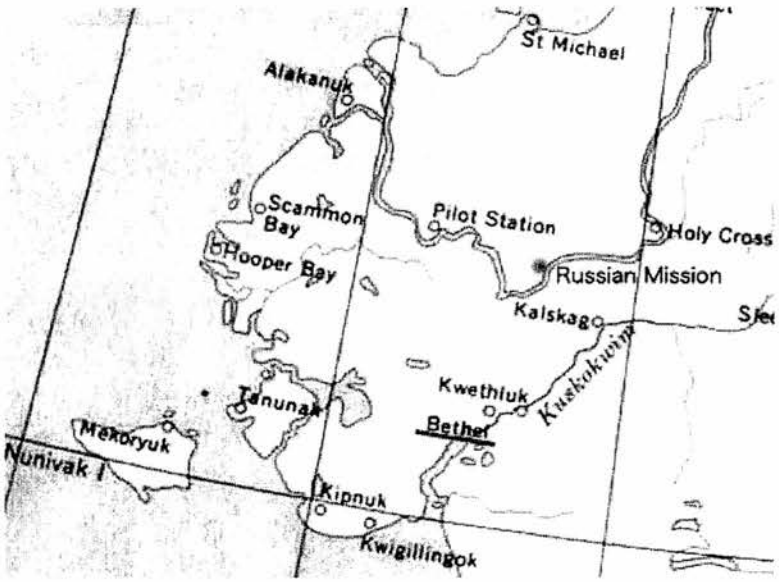



Figure 7.1 Location of Russian Mission (Source: US Central Intelligence Agency)

The first day I arrived in Russian Mission, it was about -10℃, and the 2002 winter had been milder than usual. Temperatures during the year usually range from -40℃

to +30℃ and annual precipitation is 400mm and snowfall of 1.5 metres (Alaska Department of Community and Economic Development, n.d.). The Yukon River in front of the village is ice-free from late May through until October (M. Hull, personal communication, 27 July, 2003).

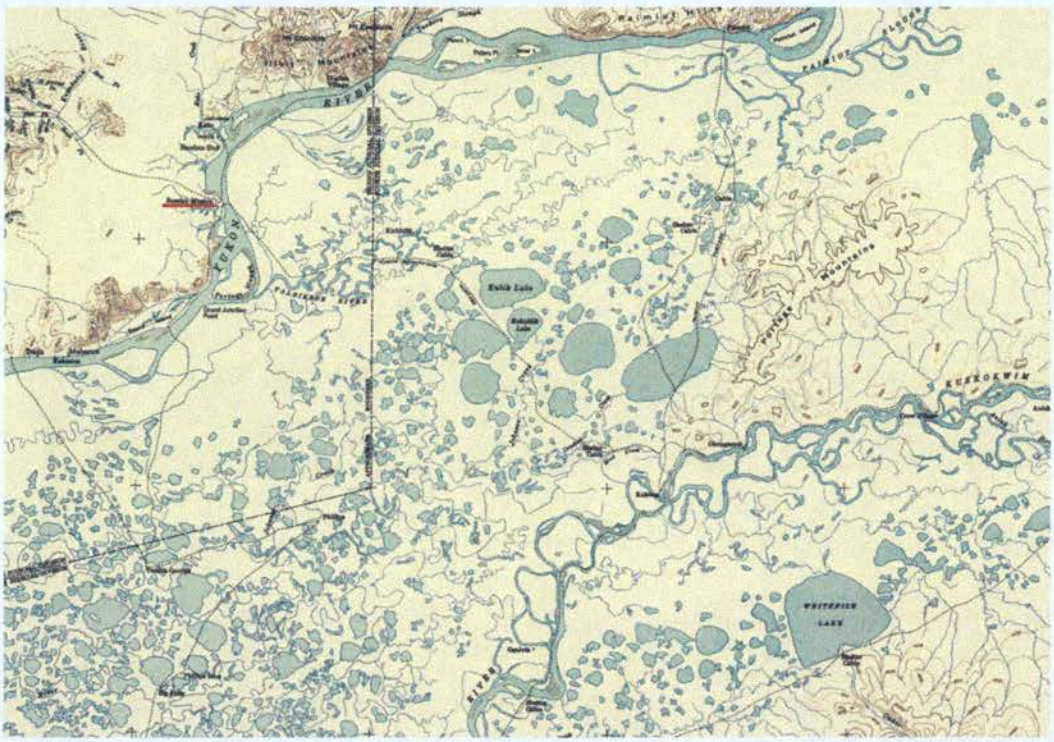



Figure 7.2 Russian Mission and its vicinity: Russian Mission underlined in red (Source: US Geological Survey. Alaska Reconnaissance Topographic Series.)

Figure 7.2 shows Russian Mission and its vicinity in more detail, where the programme activities took place. The habitat mixture of wetland, ponds, rivers, lakes, hills and tundra supports a wide variety of wildlife. The river delta is fertile and vegetation in the region consists of tall stands of white spruce and birch with undergrowth of alder, willow, low bush shrubs and a variety of berries. Various animals including moose, black bear, porcupine, wolf and wolverine are present as

well as various waterfowl and ptarmigan. Local waters are abundant with three kinds of salmon, blackfish, whitefish, sheefish, pike, eels, lush, trout, grayling and burbot. They all have supported human life in the area over generations.

**Overview of History**

As explained in Chapter 6, the Yup'ik was one of the last peoples in Alaska to have come into daily contact with Europeans. The delta region was largely untouched in comparison to the south-west and south-east areas in Alaska, but the settlement now called Russian Mission accommodated early newcomers. When the Russian-American Company built their first trading post on the Yukon River there in 1836 (Pete, 1991), the settlement of about 140 people was called 'Iqurmiut' in the Yup'ik language, meaning 'people of the point'. The modern name results from the first Russian Orthodox mission in interior Alaska being built there by a Russian-Aleut priest. The date of the founding of the 'Pokrovskaya Mission' is recorded as 1845 (Russian Mission School, n.d.), 1851 or 1857 in other sources (Alaska Department of Community and Economic Development, n.d.; Pete, 1991). In 1900[1], Iqurmiut was renamed by non-locals as 'Russian Mission'. Moravian (a protestant sect) and the Jesuit missionaries (a religious order in the Catholic Church) also arrived, but the Russian Orthodox religion still remains predominant among Yup'ik residents of Russian Mission.

The population of Russian Mission was recorded as 350 in 1910, but 10 years later had fallen dramatically to 90 due to diseases such as tuberculosis (Alaska Department of Community and Economic Development, n.d.). In 1940 only 34 settlers were recorded. It recovered from 55 in 1950 to 102 in 1960, and increased by nearly 50% from 1960 to 1970.

## Contemporary Russian Mission

*Social and Economic Aspects*

According to the Russian Mission city office, in March 2002 98% of the 322 residents were Yup'ik, though some people were of 'mix-blood' with Athabascan, Tlingit, white Americans and remotely, Russians. Apart from a few who married local Yup'ik people, the other white American residents were teachers. There were 170 people between 16 and 64 years of age who were considered as the 'work force'. On the other hand, I gathered from a number of sources that there were about 44 permanent jobs with the school being the biggest employer (20 workers). This meant only 25% of the work force could actually get regular employment. However, the airstrip was being constructed at that time, and a total of 62 people (36% of the work force) had paid jobs including part-time and temporary employment (Russian Mission City Office, 12 March 2002). Linked to this, median family income was $22,500 per year, and 21.8% of people in Russian Mission lived under the stated poverty level (Alaska Department of Community and Economic Development, n.d.). As of 12 March 2002, there were a total of 64 households, with

between one and 14 people in each (Russian Mission City Office, 12 March 2002). In some cases, a family of 10 people lived in a two-bedroom house, or 14 in a three-bedroom house. Internet service was available at school and some households had purchased satellite TV channels. On the other hand, about 10% of households were reported as a lacking plumbing such as a sink, shower or flush toilet, and about 7% lacked a complete kitchen being without running water, a cooking stove or a fridge (Alaska Department of Community and Economic Development, n.d.). Most houses used fuel oil and kerosene for heating, and some used wood.

Subsistence was a focus of culture and a significant part of livelihood. Many residents agreed that an average of 65% of their diet came from subsistence, which is substantial[2]. My fieldwork suggested that young people tended to rely on subsistence food less than elders[3] but generally demonstrated close association to the food. Various berries, black bear, rabbit, beaver, waterfowl, pike and other fish were utilised, and in addition, Salmon and moose were the most predominant wildlife in the diet. A typical Yup'ik household economy in Russian Mission was often based on a combination of subsistence, Permanent Fund Dividend[4], tax return and public assistance.

*Schooling*

"There are many rules and regulations in our culture", said Cecilia Martz[5], drawing a circle on the sandy beach, divided into three; environment, people, spirit. Martz

is one of the first Alaska Native certified school teachers in Alaskan history. She continued:

> Environment and spirit are not separate. Everything is inter-connected. Seals are spiritually connected with people. In my opinion, having learned all those rules, a person becomes very good in society. Our old education system used to create a whole person. Western school education teaches skills by subjects, but it does not provide a complete education for a whole human being. I took a course at the university for teaching methods and all that, but I had to throw away those notes when I really started teaching as the reality was very different and I created my own. (Cecilia Martz, 3 Aug 2001)

Traditional Yup'ik education is discussed and explained by authors, including those who are Yup'ik (Kawagley, 1995, 1999; Kawagley & Barnhardt, 1999; Martz, 2002; Napoleon, 1999). What they address is its holistic nature and practical implications based on the principles of a collective survival and a balance among the human, natural and spiritual worlds. These three realms were considered inseparable and the proper attitude in relation to the three worlds was stressed. Kawagley (1995) states that the natural environment was "their school and their cathedral, and reading its natural process gave meaning of all life" (p. 24). In this way they lived as a responsible and productive member of the community. This principle goal of education might be similar to a Western one. However, its approach, the core worldviews, and a concept of community seem to be very different to those in the

Western world. Traditionally, the Yup'ik, like any other Alaska Native peoples, did not set up an educational institution like 'school' to gather all children together and teach indoors, but had their own embedded educational systems which were undermined by the introduction of Western institutions. Fienup-Riordan (1986) declares that the form and content of their educational system was "very different from the western concept of formal education" (p. 325).

Mike Hull, principal of Russian Mission School, studied journals kept by the early Russian Orthodox Missionaries, and explored the dawn of introduced 'schooling' at the settlement. He discovered that even after Alaska became part of the USA, there was no evidence of formal regular church schools, despite the strong presence of the Russian Church (M. Hull, personal communication, 17 April 2003). In the early days priests occasionally taught reading and writing to some young people, but this was on an irregular basis because they often covered a large area and travelled extensively ("The Russians come", 1988). This practice was offered in Russian Mission from 1847. According to Carol Barnhardt (1985), a school was opened in 1904 by the Federal Government but closed sometime before 1949 (p. 42). Between the 1940s and early 1970s, some families sent their children to a missionary boarding school in a village about 130km upriver. A Yup'ik woman in Russian Mission started to teach English voluntarily at her house in the mid 1950s as she thought it was important. A school was re-established by the BIA in 1955, which was later transferred to the state government (Barnhardt, 1985). The high school

was built in 1977. A few people in their mid-50s still living in Russian Mission were the first to leave the village to attend a boarding high school in southern Alaska or outside of Alaska.

At the beginning of the SY 2001/02, Russian Mission School had 106 students in grades 1 to 12. All but one student were Alaska Natives, predominantly Yup'ik. Among nine certified teaching staff, two were Yup'ik and from the village, and the rest were white Americans from other states. Six teaching aides were all from the village.

*Cultural Heritage*

Generally Yup'ik communities in the delta have maintained a strong linguistic tradition. However, as revealed in my fieldwork, this did not appear to be the case in Russian Mission. Most Yup'ik residents under 50 years old (nearly 90% of the community) did not speak the language fluently, though some claimed they understood speech. Traditional dance had ceased for many years but it was recently revived by one elder who subsequently died in 2001. He was from a different village, and some songs were in the Athabascan language. Some traditional beliefs and taboos were maintained (but unequally) among the people. This is discussed in more detail later in this chapter. No one I spoke to recalled a Yup'ik creation myth except one person who said in a distant manner, "Some people say Raven is a creator" (MC, 22 March 2002). Many people were reluctant to talk about issues

which would conflict with their religious beliefs as Russian Orthodox and Catholic. Some women used Kuspaqs[6] on the street. However, other than dancing costumes, boots, jackets and other clothing were replaced with modern materials, and people did not use traditional materials in outdoor activities such as travelling and hunting. Nonetheless, some said in a proud manner that they had inherited family beaver mittens.

Concerning the significance of subsistence over people's lives, a number of residents reported that reliance has reduced within one generation, though some seemed to have strongly maintained it. Consequently, skills and knowledge which were linked to subsistence have generally weakened, particularly among young people. However, the interview data suggested that the contribution of subsistence food to the diet was still significant. Even if the figure of 65%, shown earlier as a portion of subsistence food in their diet, was the residents' 'perception', this showed people's strong attachment to land food[7]. When I asked what land food they normally ate in Russian Mission, one local woman instantly listed 28 kinds of wildlife. Though compared to when they were younger, adult members of the community might not be heavily involved in subsistence activities, their memories and experiences of the subsistence way of life were still vivid and intense. It was clear from numerous conversations and my own observations that the adults in Russian Mission recognised subsistence as an inevitable and important part of their contemporary lives (Petrivelli, 1998).

## Outdoor Educational Programmes in Russian Mission

This section details the motivations and aims of the organisers and the educational programmes conducted, including their structure and contents. It also outlines the sources of data that this study is based on.

### Organisers

Russian Mission School has developed and organised an outdoor education programme as part of their school curriculum for students between the 6th and 12th grades. Mike Hull, a California-born American, was appointed as Russian Mission School Principal in 2000, and he brought the change into the curriculum. Before then the school had no significant involvement in subsistence activities. According to a member of the school board, previously the school only offered a few days of subsistence activities in the entire year, and just for high school students. Hull had 25 years service in education in rural Alaska, and was no novice in integrating local knowledge and subsistence skills into classrooms. However, 2001/02 was the first time that the Russian Mission students were exposed to extensive land-based outdoor activities as school projects.

The school incorporated subsistence activities into formal classes. In Alaskan high school education, 'Subsistence' is an officially recognised subject. The Russian Mission School sometimes called their outdoor education scheme a 'Place Based Subsistence Education Program'. The school also integrated subsistence activities

into a course, Environmental Science, at high school level. Hull especially targeted the junior high school, 6th to 8th grade, and their curriculum was designed around the subsistence activities of each season throughout a year. I visited the village to observe a part of the programme in the SY 2001/02, when they were developing the curriculum intensively.

**Staff and Participants**

Apart from Principal Hull, three male school staff were mainly responsible for conducting the outdoor programmes: a white American teacher, a teaching assistant and a maintenance person. The teaching assistant and the maintenance person were Yup'ik and permanent local residents. They were both experienced hunters and led the outdoor classes as 'land-skills teachers'. Other school staff helped or led programmes as necessary, including a local female 'culture teacher' who taught students Yup'ik language and dance in the school's 'culture' class. When the programme was part of their 'science class', another white American science teacher was in charge of designing the class in an integrated manner utilising local knowledge of the environment. In any one of those programmes, usually at least two school staff were present. Community members supported the activities by driving their children to a certain spot but as far as I observed their involvement was limited, keeping a certain distance from school.

**Programme Structure and Contents**

The land-based programmes took a variety of formats: a sequence of a half-day or a full day, one to two nights out, and one to two-week journey. The overnights involved bivouacking, camping and using a cabin. Overall the school provided repeated, prolonged and extensive experiences throughout the school year, engaging students with the environment in a significant manner. The classes were a combination of in-class and outside activities. The students used a digital camera to document the activities. Writing, computing and editing skills training sessions often followed the outdoor-based activities. The outdoor programmes provided a framework for other academic subjects. The activities were planned around certain learning outcomes and usually followed the school schedule. For example if it was an afternoon class, they aimed to return by 4pm. Nonetheless, the planning and the structure were flexible to a certain extent to accommodate inclement weather and students' physical conditions at that time.

The instructors' approach depended on the individuals, the circumstances under which they were interacting with the students, and the students' developmental stages. For example, the two instructors - the principal and one of the two local hunters - who led a group of high school boys in a caribou hunt, were non-directive with little verbal instructions and expected the students to learn by observing. However the principal had to have many discussions with some students to persuade them to join in the trip as they were reluctant to do so. He often took a directive

approach toward junior high students with some deliberate instructions[8]. In teaching some practical skills, the teaching assistant was sometimes directive and forceful with junior high school students as the students often started to play as soon as they reached the destination. The issue of learning and compulsion is covered later in this chapter.

In the following section, I outline the programmes of the whole year for both junior high and high school students.

During the first three weeks of the SY 2001/02, both high school and junior high school students went out every day with three teachers and two teaching aides. The high schoolers, including 14 students who had previously 'dropped out' of school and returned, first built a smoke house and drying racks for fish next to the school building. Then the high school and junior high school students fished for three days. This took place during a couple of hours each afternoon, using a drift-net technique. They caught 150 – 180 silver salmon. They participated in cleaning and filleting the fish properly. Having been berry picking, they then conducted a moose hunt. The school provided ammunition and gasoline for the boats, and boys went off by themselves or with their families. Two teachers took girls who wished to go on a two-day hunting trip. The girls received instruction in the safe use of a rifle and handling a boat. The high school girls also had a two-day canoe trip where they learned to handle both rifles and shotguns and to navigate rivers and sloughs[9]. They

also hunted ducks and picked berries. The boys went rabbit hunting and bird hunting, but the main purpose of this was for them get used to the nature of hunting and handling different types of firearms, both of which would be useful for later journeys and activities. They were taught how to butcher moose and take care of and store the meat. They also built a winter cabin along one of the tributaries of the Yukon River, which was used for winter activities later in the school year.

In addition to fishing, 15 junior high students had a week-long camp-out about 30 kilometres from the community. It included a hike up a 560-metre hill, and they stayed near the top overnight. This trip combined science and subsistence through activities such as berry picking and making a birch basket. They gathered ferns with a science teacher to identify them and learn their traditional medicinal use.

At the end of September, the school organised a feast for the community using 'land-food' the students had harvested, including salmon, berries and moose. In October, while developing their stories and web sites from their outdoor experiences, some high school students began to make eeling sticks for the coming season in November. Once a week from the end of November, the students went on half-day ice fishing sessions for pike and white fish. During January and February, small groups of four or five students set fish traps for burbot and black fish, and went beaver trapping. The school organised the schedule so that each student could go out at least once a week. The junior high school spent three or four afternoons a week on these

activities and the high school spent one or two afternoons. The theme for March was winter camping. The junior high students built snow shelters, taking two afternoons to construct them, and then staying one night. Some high school boys went on an overnight caribou hunt, covering 290 miles or 465km with snow machines over tundra and frozen lakes, and bivouacking in -20℃ weather. Other students used the winter cabin, which was built by high school students, for nights-out and informal usage on their own. At the cabin they had opportunities to take care of themselves by cooking, fishing and practicing other life skills. At the end of April or May 2002, a memorial potlatch[10] for a deceased elder was organised and the students took part in the occasion by preparing subsistence food and performing traditional dances.

**Observed Programmes**

For several reasons I decided to focus my attention primarily on 10 to 15 sixth to eighth graders. First, the school's focus in relation to outdoor education was on junior high school (sixth to eighth grade). Secondly, linked to this, there were more materials available for what the junior high school students did. Thirdly, when I was in Russian Mission in March 2002, there were not many high school classes which integrated subsistence elements into the programme.

I attended and observed several classes of the junior high school, both inside and outside the building. They included making snow shelters and a night out. I

observed when they went out to locate an abandoned moose head in the snow field, set rabbit snares and check them, and ice fished. Furthermore, I had a two-night/two-day trip with four girls to a winter cabin, called Wassily's Cabin, about 30km away from Russian Mission. I also watched their indoor classes while they developed their websites, and I observed various community activities that the school and the students were involved in. While generally concentrating on the junior high school students, I also joined five high school boys and two male instructors on one session of the subsistence class for the caribou hunt.

Plate 7.1 A high school boy poses during a caribou hunt trip (By courtesy of Russian Misson School.)

At the beginning many of the junior high school students looked apprehensive about going out for activities and verbally expressed their unwillingness. However, in almost all cases they returned with excitement and wanted to do more, expressing their desire for the next opportunity. It was clear from observation that one activity

must be looked at in relation to the entire process, and that it involved various levels of learning and experiences. For example, *manaqing* (ice fishing) started with making a fishing tool, dressing up according to the weather and the forecast, getting other gear ready, getting to a specific place, knowing where and how to make a hole and how to treat the fish once they were caught.

My fieldnotes from a day when I accompanied the junior high school boys checking rabbit snares are included in Appendix 4a. That was the occasion when I realised that the process, the space and time were all important and rich elements in the students' experiences during the outdoor programmes. My observations confirmed that the students enjoyed being out and it also provided information on the nature of their experiences.

## Rationale of the Programme

This section examines the intentions of the organisers, including their rationale, objectives and their ways of measuring success.

### Whose Rationale?

I interviewed the principal, Mike Hull, who was central to implementing the outdoor programme, fusing traditional skills and school education. I also interviewed a senior teacher, Jason Moen, who was responsible for conducting the subsistence classes, and had served the school for seven consecutive years. This was regarded

as a very long time considering the high turnover rate among teachers in rural Alaska. He offered his perceptions on the change in students and the relationship between students and teachers, reflecting on the time when the subsistence activities were not a substantial part of the curriculum. I utilised numerous conversations with other non-Native teachers in order to cross-reference data as necessary. As already mentioned, there were two other local school staff who actually led and instructed the subsistence activities. Interestingly they did not appear to consider themselves as 'organisers'. During the interviews, they both talked about the programmes as what 'they' - the school - initiated and did. Therefore, their accounts were analysed separately from the organisers' viewpoint and included in the community's.

**Background to the Outdoor Programmes**

*Disconnection from their Environment: Reasons for Disconnection*

Both Hull and Moen were of the view that many young people in Russian Mission were increasingly disconnected from their own environment. From their perspectives, this was a fundamental premise that necessitated the development of the outdoor education programmes. Although subsistence skills and appropriate knowledge of the land were still necessary to sustain life in the village, 'disconnection from the land' has resulted in many of the young people lacking important knowledge and skills. In addition to its practical implication for physical survival in the village, the disconnection threatens identity and self-esteem because the Yup'ik worldview situates people in a web of relationships with other worlds

including the natural and spiritual (Barnhardt, 1982; Kawagley, 1995; Kawagley & Barnhardt, 1999; Napoleon, 1999). This is another dimension to an individual's survival as a cultural and social being.

As for reasons why many young people in Russian Mission were disconnected from the land, Hull suggested that school's interference with the Yupi'k way of life over a long period of time was a major factor[11]. Through his 25-year service in education in rural Alaska, Hull had recognised that the native people's life was centred around a system which provided them safety and food. He suggested that schooling based on the outsiders' values had removed the system, and did not fill the void. It further undermined *Yuuyaraq*[12], Yupi'k way of life. School is not the only thing to be blamed for uprooting society and interfering with *Yuuyaraq*. However, it is clear from the discussion of history in Chapter 6 that schooling had a significant impact on individuals' lives as well as the influence of contemporary village society.

*Disconnection from their Environment: Lack of Self-Esteem*

Yup'ik people had been repeatedly told by authorities that they were inferior to white Americans, and that they must live and act like white Americans, eliminating their mother tongue and customs. School had a major role in delivering and enforcing the message. It has been perceived as a part of the system which has eroded community and indigenous peoples' self-esteem. The social problems among Alaska Natives were implied earlier and in this respect Russian Mission was no

exception. Some non-Native teachers described the students' detrimental family situations as follows:

> There are some kids who are really bright, but the circumstances do not allow them to do their best at school...There are many kids whose parents just gave up and left them. The kids live on their own mostly...A girl whose parents left here when she was about 4th grade. She is the oldest of the children and she had to take care of her little brothers and sisters. In such a situation, to tell them to stay at school and do academic work does not appeal to them. In one case, a father had broken a daughter's leg a few times. You know both of the parents drink, and they get rough on kids. Some parents are in and out of jail... (Fieldnotes, 26/03/02)

Much of the literature and comments from Alaska Natives themselves link the violence and negative behaviour of people with the loss of identity and cultural pride. Both Hull and Moen suggested that the confidence that the students would gain through the process of integrating their world into school was a prerequisite for them to get out of the devastating situation and take on other challenges including academic ones. Other advocates of culturally appropriate education support the same view (Barnhardt, 1982; Lipka et al., 1998; Scollon & Scollon, 1988).

*Framework of Educational Needs in Russian Mission*

According to Hull, 80% of graduates from Russian Mission High School have stayed in the village. Among four graduates in 2001, one left Russian Mission for further training and by 2002 had already returned home, and one lived in a different village. Not all young people attended and graduated from high school. Therefore, a very high proportion of them remained in the village. On the other hand, available jobs were extremely limited in the village as mentioned earlier. School education and certificates do not always promise a job in the village, though they certainly increase the chance of getting one if people are prepared to work somewhere else, although this is an option that they rarely took.

Hull stressed the necessity of radical change in the school's approach so that it is appropriate for the students in Russian Mission:

> ...Here we are, we are in this setting. We are with this people. These kids, most of them are going to live here their whole lives. What do they need to live well? That is the question we are too timid to ask. Or if we ask it, we are dishonest about the answer. (M. Hull, 10 March 2002)

In order to search for more appropriate education for Russian Mission children, Hull chose to look at the educational framework which allowed people to survive there over hundreds of years. He said, "we are in an environment where taking an hour walk from your home can kill you. In most settings that is not a concern but here it

is. We need to be involved in those skills that keep people alive" (M. Hull, 10 March 2002).

Hull justified the schools' involvement in subsistence, which was usually regarded as the community's responsibility, as a "moral obligation of school" (M. Hull, 12 March 2002) to bring it back because, Hull believed, the school had taken it away from community. It was also a value statement for the school in terms of what was important in life, and it would reaffirm the lifestyle and traditional values in the village. More simply, the school incorporated subsistence activities because it was "what kids need to know to live here, so we'll take the time to do it" (M. Hull, 12 March 2002).

## Objectives of the Outdoor Programmes

*Practical Skills and Identity*

The organisers wished to accomplish two objectives through the incorporation of subsistence activities into the school curriculum. First, students would gain practical skills to survive and continue living with resources that are available around Russian Mission. Secondly, students would become assured of their identity, which was defined by Hull as "knowing who they are and what is their place on this planet" (M. Hull, 10 March 2002). Both Hull and Moen stated that their students needed to be connected with the land in order to be secure about themselves. Hull also extended this connection to include the non-human world, giving an example of a story where

he encouraged the students to recognise 'awareness' in a rock and a mountain. This is also part of the traditional Yup'ik worldview, believing that everything has an awareness (Kawagley, 1995; Martz, 2002).

Both Hull and Moen suggested that cultural identity would be re-enforced by 'reconnecting' students to their natural environment. They assumed that a deep connection with the land was traditionally embedded in Yup'ik people (Kawagley 1995) but was interrupted. By re-opening access to and repeatedly providing significant experiences in their environment, Hull believed that the connection would be re-established. It raises the issue of whether 'connection' is biological for all humans or culturally specific to certain peoples. Although this is an issue of considerable academic debate, (Kellert, 1997; Kellert & Wilson, 1993), for Yup'ik children at least 're-connection' seems realistic because their way of life in the village is already intimate, a deeper relationship with the land in their history existed recently, and knowledge of this tangible relationship still exists among residents.

Hull and Moen considered that the securing of identity through connection with their natural environment would lead the students to acquire self-confidence. Therefore the two objectives they raised can be restated as 'skill acquisition' and 'personal and social development'. These sound very similar to some of the primary overall aims in outdoor education in the UK (Barrett & Greenaway, 1995; Cooper, 1994; Hopkins & Putnam, 1993; Nicol, 2001), and together with 'connection with the natural

environment' it is very close to what some researchers claim as a concept of outdoor education (Higgins & Loynes, 1997). What is unique here, however, is the claim that one's identity is found in his/her relationship to the environment and that this relationship is regarded as fundamental to personal growth. While some authors such as Titman (1994) make similar claims, largely relationships with the environment have been discussed among Western outdoor educators in terms of ethics and sustainability. The topics include instrumental approach of using the natural environment to achieve their respective programme goal (Cooper, 1991; Higgins, 2001; Higgins et al., 1998; Loynes, 1999; Parkin, 1998). On the other hand, except for a few authors (e.g. Brookes, 2002; Higgins, 1996a; Titman, 1994), little has been said about the direct context of personal and social development and the relationship with the environment. What is also unique about the Russian Mission programme is the formative role that skill acquisition plays in personal growth. Hull claimed during interviews that skill acquisition is directly linked to the students' survival physically, intellectually, emotionally, spiritually and culturally. This has an implication for community values rather than purely individual survival. Their activities in the outdoors are not isolated and fragmentary exercises, rather they are experiences that build and express a relationship that provides both identity and sustenance closely linked to the community context.

The analysis of repeated interviews and conversations with Hull suggests that he viewed the human relationship with the land around a notion of 'a taker or a receiver'.

In the Yup'ik traditional view[13] animals agreed to be killed, giving themselves up to 'a good hunter', who properly treated animals and their spirit with respect (Fienup-Riordan, 1990). In this context people 'received' the animals rather than took and killed them. Hull admitted that this receiver's attitude would be difficult to nurture with modern powerful firearms, and that he was not sure if the traditional thinking existed in anyone's consciousness in contemporary Russian Mission. Nonetheless, it was the relationship he hoped to generate among the children through their outdoor education. Placing himself or herself as a receiver, instead of a taker, goes beyond assurance of identity and is linked to their fairly recent tradition of *Yuuyarak*. In the Western mindset, on the other hand, this would be a major shift and require an ontological change.

**Measures of Success**

To what extent the students acquired practical skills and knowledge as a result of the programmes could be examined to a certain degree, whereas the assurance of identity and relationship with the environment are subtle and difficult to confirm. Hull sensed a 'success' by observing the students becoming more comfortable outside and learning self-control. During the interviews he described a number of occasions among the students which indicated their personal growth. He was also of the opinion that if the students enjoyed being out, they would go out more on their own and the relationship would be built over time. In this respect, the school

programme was assumed to be opening the path to building deep relationships with the natural environment:

> If we can, with that age group, just build the experience that was really fun to be out there...That's all they can articulate at the age of 12 or 13, it's fun to be out there. Then they will go again...and in time it will come. You know as an educator that is all I accomplish. (M. Hull, 10 March 2002)

Therefore, students' reactions to the programme was one of the indicators. It was a success for Hull when a subsistence teacher returned with "a bunch of noisy, happy kids" (M. Hull, 10 March 2002). Moen commented on the excited anticipation among the students, which was verified by many other school staff. As they had little previous substantial subsistence experiences, they caught many of their 'firsts' through school programmes, such as their first bird, first rabbit and first time pulling a net[14]. Moen observed that the students gained a sense of pride in their achievements.

## Community Members' Perceptions

The community members addressed many issues during interviews and conversations, including a change in society, spirituality, relationships to the land, language and the future. In this section I concentrate on what they valued about the outdoor programmes at school and whether they had noticed any change in their children. However, several issues arose which were important to the study's context, and this discussion is included in this section. One of these is the relationship between the school and the community. I also explore the community members' views on the key traditional concepts which emerged in the organisers' rationale for the programmes.

### Community Members

The analysis is based on the 13 semi-structured interviews with parents, community members and outdoor education instructors. In addition, I utilised the relevant data from conversations with a number of village residents which I collected over the period during my stay in Russian Mission.

I explained earlier why the local instructors were included in the analysis of responses from community members rather than in with the organisers. In addition, separating parents, community members and the instructors was found to be insignificant because everyone I met in the village had their children, grandchildren or relatives in school. This is understandable when 42% of the total population was

under 16 years old. In particular, their frequent custom of adoption created a situation where adults continued to raise children for many years. Therefore an individual interviewee could be a parent, a school staff member and a community member. Each person had particular comments to make from her or his own position.

**Children's Subsistence Experience**

As organisers suggested, the lack of subsistence knowledge and skills among the young people was overwhelmingly confirmed by the community members.

Both instructors admitted that the students they dealt with had only limited experience of the outdoors and in subsistence activities, and they agreed that many of the students had little opportunity to have significant experiences. Going out to the land has traditionally been a family affair. Fishing in summer was the most common activity among Russian Mission residents. The salmon harvested made up the substantial part of their diet throughout a year. However, even this popular activity was revealed to be declining among residents.

> NB: Not many families go subsistence intensively any more. Maybe four families have fishing cabins which are used frequently in summer. (Fieldnotes, 25/03/02)

> SW: ...We go out with them for summer and fall for fishing, moose hunting, and berry picking. But we don't do stuff in winter much. (21 March 2002)

This general decline in subsistence activities naturally reduced opportunities for young people to experience outdoor life and subsistence activities with families. The reasons for the decline and a lack of skills among the young people were explained in a number of ways. The parents who had full time jobs unanimously stated difficulty in finding time. Subsistence activities are seasonal and weather dependent. The best timing for subsistence does not always fit in with the weekends or when they can take a day off work. Financial reasons were also suggested for the decline. Among other reasons, some people reportedly preferred to stay home, watching TV. A single mother said "He [her son] has lots of uncles but they don't take him much". Therefore school was "the only way" for him to experience subsistence (UB, 21 March 2002). In some cases parents did not consider it necessary for their children to learn subsistence skills: as one said, teaching "how it is to live in a village almost means nothing right now" (QB, 23 March 2002); one mother suggested some parents may consider that "kids don't have to know this" because of social assistance (OO, 21 March 2002). Some parents were concerned about safety. It was also implied that the parents themselves did not know the land well enough to take their children out, which made the parents more concerned.

> XB: Either their parents don't want them to go out 'cause they're not supervised or they're always worried about their kids...Maybe TV, too much TV.. mostly kids' parents too

they haven't gone out so...maybe most of them don't know the country. Scared to go out. (21 March 2002)

The surrounding environment is potentially deadly unless people are well equipped with knowledge of the land. Unless they are confident in being on the land for a long period of time in unpredictable weather conditions, they would not want to take a chance. Once the transfer of knowledge and experience is interrupted, a person would never be able to teach his or her children the skills to travel safely and live outdoors. This is a kind of knowledge that cannot be learned from textbooks. There were many indications of increased disassociation from the life on the land among people in Russian Mission.

It was suggested that some young people seemed not to have a desire to go out any longer. This may be a combination of a lack of opportunities, a subsequent lack of confidence and adequate knowledge, and the pleasure of village life such as TV.

Finally, school's interference was mentioned. The fight for the time to transfer traditional values was clearly described in the following:

QB: ...the children are taken away from their family surroundings and we cannot go out because it's against the law for anyone who's under the age of sixteen not to have an education. So everybody's stuck here. And only from after school, 4.00 o'clock on...we have the children. By that time they want to go out there and have their free time and by the time they come home, it's dinner time. It's time to do

> their homework, time to put them to bed and it seems like there's no time at all to teach them the traditional values. So every so often we squeeze in five minutes of their time or so...it's difficult. (23 March 2002)

**Value of the Programme**

Everyone spoke positively about the integration of subsistence activities into the school curriculum. There were many reasons why they appreciated school taking on the subsistence activities, with only one parent offering a critical comment. Some other concerns were implied by the community members, which I describe later in this section.

*Our Way of Life: Practical Dimensions*

Having young people generally unexposed to extensive experiences on the land, the community members valued the school programmes providing their children with an opportunity to engage in subsistence activities. As the single mother's comment in the previous section suggests, for some young people it was 'the only way' to experience the outdoor life. They also appreciated the variety of activities, especially those in winter, which were beyond what most parents would do with their children. Some commented positively and said "they are learning *our way of life* through school" (Fieldnotes, 12&20/03/02). Subsistence is our way of life in the village and they (children) need to know this; similar statements were repeated by many people. This has both practical and cultural implications. The community members appreciated practical and experiential engagement because their children

would need to harvest wildlife to sustain the community. Moreover, some people were of the view that these experiences through school would lead the young people to understand what is involved in village life. Subsequently this would help them decide whether or not they want to remain in the village.

*Our Way of Life: Identity*

Some parents considered that they were getting their culture back through the programmes by practising subsistence and sharing meat with elders[15]. This included an identity issue, establishing a connection to their heritage and ancestors through the land and their food.

> UB: ...hunting, fishing, trapping and camping is something my uncles, parents and grandparents did. It is important for him to learn and experience how to live on this land. (21 March 2002)

> OO: Good thing is knowing their environment and what to expect out there. To know we are related to...Even if they want to live in Anchorage, it would not be fair not knowing the best knowledge of this place. To know where they come from and what they can do out there. (21 March 2002)

Their culture and community were perceived as inseparable, and engaging in subsistence activities was considered as being part of the community[16]. By sharing food that they harvested, the young people became contributing members of society. By engaging in the same activities that sustained the community over generations,

they were taking part in a timeless heritage, thus helping to ensure the future of the community. Sharing food has an implication for their principle of the cycle of life; that which dies is born again, and, socially, that which is received must be given away (Fienup-Riordan, 1986, p. 328). The school outdoor programmes seemed to contribute to bonding members of a community that was fragmented. One woman in her late 40s stated strongly: "I don't know how come we let this long gap have happened between our generations. Now we are trying to close it down and go for a future together" (NB, 25 March 2002).

They appreciated that the school was teaching *their* way of life because they perceived that school had previously been teaching solely the *Kussaq* (white men) way of life. There were indications that people perceived that education was primarily within school's realm, rather than believing they had significant role in it themselves. They considered it was important for their children to learn the *Kussaq* way in order to live well in a modern society that is based on a Western worldview. At the same time, they wanted their children to learn the Yup'ik way, which is deeply rooted in the land. The people's accounts demonstrated that in addition to identity 'being on the land', it was tied to a variety of values and concepts such as knowledge, family, happiness and well-being. The programmes were perceived to be valuable because by bringing the children to the land they provided these important elements.

*Social and Personal Development*

A few community members linked the programmes to social and personal development. One woman said when the students went out to the land, they would experience a sense of "responsibility to what they are supposed to be doing" (OM, 21 March 2002). Some others felt that the programmes would expand their children's experiences and let them become familiar with their environment so that they would gain confidence in engaging with it.

*Expressed Concerns*

Though everyone welcomed seeing the young people in Russian Mission engage in subsistence activities, it was not without some concerns. One mother expressed her disagreement with the way school instructed the students:

> I don't like the way they do. They take kids out without telling them what to do or informing, explaining what to expect. It can be dangerous in our environment to leave them to learn just by themselves. Especially in winter, even one night, people can get hypothermia. (NH, 18 March 2002)

There were certainly times when instructors let the students observe and try by themselves to learn. The guidance was expressed such as 'Pay attention and watch how I do', or 'You've gotta watch it carefully, and try yourself'. When high school boys were to bivouac at - 20℃, no verbal instruction was offered by the two instructors at that time. The boys did not seek guidance either and started to make

their own beds outdoors, clearly enjoying themselves by doing so. In the meantime, one of the instructors quietly made an appropriate shelter for himself, skilfully using spruce branches. The students who got cold after a while saw what the instructor did, and quickly modified their sleeping area to something very similar to the instructor's. It might have appeared that they were 'left to learn just by themselves' but the situation was certainly not dangerous. Some of them could not sleep well due to the cold, but the instructors had monitored their safety and in the end none of the students even caught a cold. I observed that learning occurred in many ways. The students were allowed enough space to make mistakes, which is often difficult to find in conventional school settings.

Often some students would not follow or pay enough attention to what they were told. In getting them ready for a half-day trip, teachers and instructors sometimes had to send them back home to get a few more clothes and necessary materials, which the students had already been told to bring. Instructors also expressed their frustration about the students' lack of attention to instructions in the field. This was especially true for junior high school students. It was not an easy task to 'herd' more than five excited, free-spirited students outdoors[17].

Therefore, the mother's comment above could have been due to the way her child told a story, not knowing if it was the child's oversight or a lack of information. It is also possible that the woman's concern stemmed from her general distrust of

school. Despite her concern, she did not dislike what her son had done through the outdoor programme. There was a lynx skin hung from the ceiling of her home which her son caught during a school's subsistence class. She proudly talked about the story of her son's first lynx with a big smile, saying that her son had skinned and cleaned it himself.

Hull recognised the general concern among parents in any community about children missing academic classes. He said the parents' idea of schooling was that "kids are supposed to be confined in the buildings and learn" (Fieldnotes 10/03/02). This may be a conventional view held by many educators and the governmental educational agencies. However it seems a logical assumption that different cultures have different needs, therefore the methods to meet the needs will be different. Hull commented that he had not yet heard the same complaint in Russian Mission, but it did not mean the parents were not worried. My interviews and conversations indicated that some parents were concerned about their children's academic achievements. Hull was under pressure to meet his goal to have them learn *Yuuyaraq* through holistic education as well as to have them meet conventional academic expectations.

Finally, some considered that teaching practical skills at school would not be useful to everyone. One man in his 50s believed that what people needed to survive now was money, and that young people needed to go out of the community to find jobs.

Therefore they needed more education, i.e. academic skills, rather than practical survival skills. He stated that teaching traditional values and how to live off the land "means nothing right now" (QB, 23 March 2002). There was a fundamental difference in philosophy between the organisers and this person. For the organisers, school's primary aim was to help the students become contributing members of the community, actively affirming traditional values based on *Yuuyaraq*. On the other hand the man in his 50s principally believed that the school should teach the students ways to get out of the community. This is linked to a heated debate in Alaska about whether 'culture' should be included in teaching in school ("On-line debate", 2001). The fundamental question would concern the purpose of education and the role of the school. Nonetheless the predominant view is that conventional schooling has not helped prepare students for life in rural Alaska, and is often regarded as part of the cause of distressing social problems. The critics say that conventional education has neglected minorities in society, and prepares people only for an industrial city life. Furthermore, they say its philosophy and approach are solely based on a Western framework no matter where and among whom the 'education' is situated (Alaska Natives Commission, 1994; Barnhardt, 1988; Haas & Nachtigal, 1998; Lipka et al., 1998).

There was a value clash among people in Russian Mission linked to education. Under the current system, they need money to maintain a subsistence lifestyle as this requires ammunition, gasoline, equipment, etc., but ironically if they are able to get a

job in the village, they do not have the time to keep up subsistence activities. In order to get education and a job, they would probably need to live in a town or city, counter to the traditional value of keeping the family together. Generally earning more money is perceived as meaning more success in life, and this notion has been troubling people in the villages. Alaska Natives in rural areas living in a mixed economy of part-time employment and subsistence have much lower incomes than people in cities (US Census Bureau, 2003). A school system based on a cash-driven society usually conveys the message to children that they are losers if they do not go for further education and get a job. A female Russian Mission Yup'ik despaired by saying:

> ...non-Native's picture of success is to make lots of money. My picture of success is to learn how to live good with others...even if you don't have lots of money. And I tell them [my children] it's okay to live in the village, you wouldn't fail if you don't go out [of the village], you live in the village, you be good to everybody, you live your simple life, it's all right. You don't fail if you do that. (MC, 22 March 2002)

**Perceived Influence of the Programmes on Young People**

Some children talked about their experiences to their parents more than the others. One parent I met had apparently hardly discussed the experiences with her child. She said she never asked her son about the outings and did not know what he really did or if he learned anything (UB, 21 March 2002). Most of the community

members, however, provided some evidence of the programme's influence on the children.

*Excitement, Joy and Awareness*

The majority of people mentioned the excitement and joy that their children experienced through the programmes. In an interview, a parent said that "They are full of excitement and happy to go out. When they know they are going out, they talk about it from a week before" (OM, 21 March 2002). I have often witnessed the students not wanting to go and refusing to follow instructions before departure. The two local instructors agreed that the young people were usually reluctant at the beginning because "they don't really know what they are doing" (21 March 2002) due to a lack of experience. However, they both said, and my observations support this, that the students enjoyed the activities and anticipated the sessions to come. One of the instructors commented, "from taking them out, I see most of them are getting interested in going out. When they first go out, they complain. Later on as they get used to going out they enjoy more" (XB, 21 March 2002).

No one said they had perceived a general behavioural change in their children which might be caused by the outdoor programmes. However some comments suggested their awareness of and interest in their surroundings and their heritage increased.

> It made them aware and get interested in what's happening out there, and how to live life here. Having experienced

> these things, they came back with more questions to me. They asked me how we used to put away food without electricity. You know they started to get interested and become wanting to know more. (NB, 25 March 2002)

*Attending School*

Teachers stated that the students attended school more regularly because they wanted to participate in outdoor activities. Some parents also linked the activities with motivation to go to school and an improved attitude toward school. The school secretary supported the claim and also observed the students were more involved in school. Everyday the school cooks counted the number of students who came for the school's breakfast programme, and they had an opportunity to check how the students were every morning. One of them was involved in teaching land-skills to the students. She backed up the claim by saying "The students get more interested in coming to school. Not only about coming, but they are excited about going out with school trips" (PQ, 25 March 2002).

I calculated the junior high school students' attendance rate individually and collectively, and the rate of high school collectively for the past three years. I also took a look at certain individuals' 'tardy'[18] rate in the past three years. Concerning the attendance rate, both high school and junior high school showed the lowest attendance in the SY 2001/02, when the new curriculum centred around subsistence activities was introduced. On the surface it seems their claim cannot be justified. But in reality a few factors need to be taken into consideration.

Having such a low total number of the students, a move of one student greatly affects the average figure. As mentioned earlier, 14 previous 'drop-outs' returned to school in the SY2001/02, but some of them did not attend everyday. The previous long absence from school made it harder for them to keep up, but they still tried to attend instead of totally dropping out. The irregular attendance of these returning students lowered the overall rate of attendance. On the other hand, once they dropped out completely, the average attendance rate went up. Therefore the year which had the highest attendance rate could mean more people had dropped out of school. Another factor to consider was a cause beyond the students' will such as sickness as a result of the 'flu' spread in the third quarter of the SY2001/02 and family reasons. Among 12 individuals in junior high school, five students showed better attendance rate in the SY2001/02 compared to the previous two years. Average 'tardy times' (late arrival) among the 12 junior high school students was lower in the SY2001/02 than in the previous year.

Overall, the significance of the lower recoded attendance rate in the SY2001/02 is dubious because of the many factors influencing it. What gave the school secretary and others an impression that attendance had improved may be that they had more students in school, including previous drop-outs, and 'tardy times' were reduced. In addition, they perceived that the students were more positive and excited about being in school, and this atmosphere may have contributed to the impression.

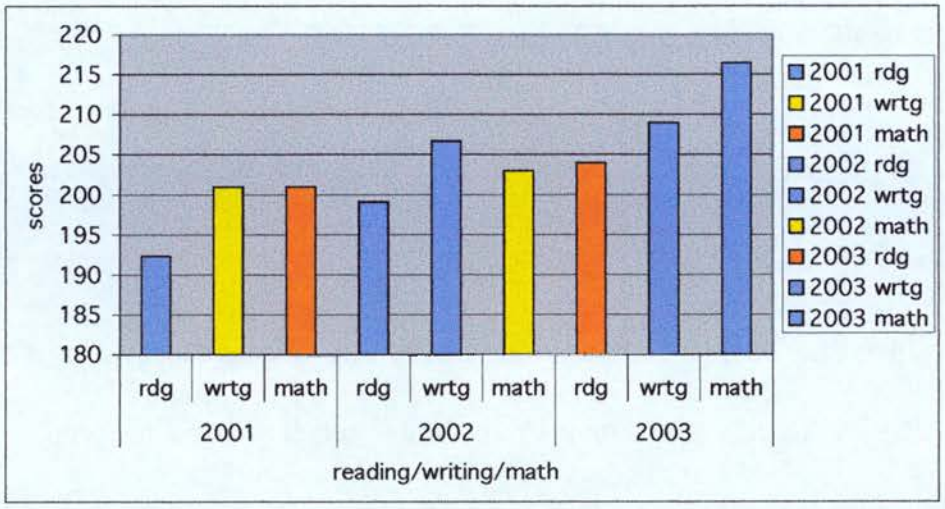
*Contribution to Academic Skills*

Some parents suggested that the outdoor programmes appeared to contribute to the children's academic skills. A few mothers noticed improvements in the quality of their writing.

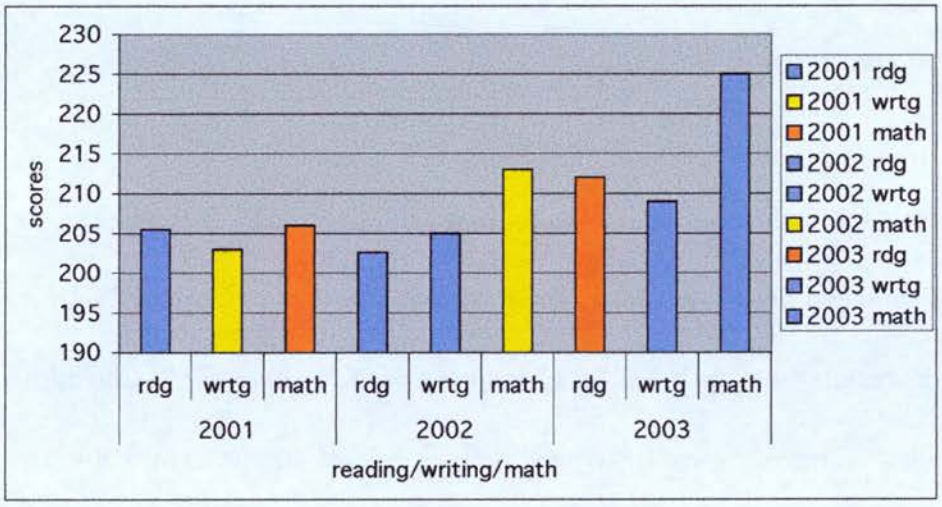
As explained earlier, their outdoor activities were tied in with other academic classes at junior high school. Their products on the web[19] and essays they wrote in social study classes indicated that once the students started to experience the environment outside the village, many issues, especially linked to animals and the natural environment, became more relevant to them.

I obtained two sets of exam results of the junior high students and both showed significant improvement in their academic scores during 2001/03. Chart 7.1 shows the class average results from spring of 2001 to spring of 2003 of an exam on reading, writing and maths. The exam was developed by their school district to measure progress in the standards-based curriculum. According to Hull, and from the results of another exam, this average is a fair indicator of general progress with some exceptional progress among individuals. Such changes could be ascribed to a child's developmental stage or a range of other local factors, but it is worth noting that the general trend in the state showed lower scores among 8th graders than among 6th graders, whereas Russian Mission students' growth was steady.

Chart 7.1 Exam scores on Russian Mission 7th and 8th graders during 2001/03




7th Grade 2002/03




8th grade 2002/03

The exam result was not proof that the integration of outdoor education was the definite and sole cause of the academic improvement among students. However, the school's approach of getting closer to the students' understanding of the world and their needs seems likely to be one of the contributors to the significant

improvement of their academic scores. During conversations, teachers and parents suggested that some children had been thought unable to write reasonably, but it turned out that they did write well when they had something to write about. Moreover some people suggested that the improved relationship between school and the community would have affected students' attitude toward school. Outdoor activities seemed to have brought different, often positive, relationships between teachers and students. It would be safe to say that if the students felt positive and happy about being at school, they were more likely to accept being taught and therefore learn.

Organisers claimed that the acquisition of identity would help the students prepare for other challenges in life, including studying academic subjects. It is a convincing argument as parents of those who had previously dropped out of school seemed to think that their children had done so because school was boring and failed to reach their children's world, teaching them something irrelevant. However none of the community members I talked to seemed to link acquisition of identity directly to attending school or taking on academic work.

**Relationship between School and Community**

The psychological distance and cultural separation between school and the community has been explained earlier in this chapter. Has the outdoor educational programme brought the school and community closer together? Hull paused for a

moment before answering "Yes" (M. Hull, 10 March 2002). He was aware that the community members' voluntary involvement in the programme was limited but in the last year and a half he had seen a gradual increase. Hull's view was based on comments and feedback from parents who "have been real supportive and positive about the whole thing" (M. Hull, 10 March 2002). During interviews, some parents did suggest that the improved relationship was a consequence of the programme. This indicates that at least these people, if not all the community members, started to feel closer to the school.

> KM: Yes, you may be able to say school is a different culture from community. What Mike [the principal] is trying to do is probably good. He tried to connect community and school. (20 March 2002)

> MC: ...it [the school] has a better relation with the village. They've become part of the village...the school, not separate. (22 March 2002)

On the other hand, some parents made a few critical remarks during conversations, not about the programmes but about the school, by saying that the teachers were not as aware of the children's situation as they thought. While agreeing that the relationship between the community and school had improved, one person said quietly "But Mike will leave [this village] sooner or later" (QB, 23 March 2002), implying he did not consider this as a lasting exercise of the school. When Hull moves from the position, there is no guarantee that the next principal would make the

same commitment to the same extent. The school system as a whole has not been changed. The community members welcomed the fact that school now backed up community values, but as they thought this change might be temporary, the fundamental distrust of the overall school system could not be eliminated. Unless the whole system declares a radical change in its values, the distrust and separation between the two cultures may well remain. With this suspicion in mind the community members may not be able to cooperate wholeheartedly with the programme. They certainly viewed the programme as 'the school's' instead of the community's.

Hull's justification for the schools' involvement in subsistence was explained as a 'moral obligation'. It could be argued that if the community thinks it so important to have their children engage in subsistence activities, then why do they not take the initiative themselves? The community members welcomed the initiative and were happy to see the school take on their values, but they remained passive. Everyone said they hoped school would continue the programme, but it was definitely a 'school thing'. They would have accepted the situation if the school stopped doing it. Evidence from the historical review in Chapter 6 shows that the Yup'ik people have been 'subdued'. One of the possible explanations is that they have been powerless to determine their affairs for so long that even now they may consider school and educating their children to be the responsibility of 'white men'.

Eleven months after I left Russian Mission, I had an opportunity to meet two local residents in Japan where we all attended a conference on environmental education. The school outdoor programmes had continued strongly and they were further developed in the new school year of 2002/03. I noticed differences in their comments concerning school-community relationships. The same person, who said before that she hoped the school would continue the outdoor programme, stated almost a year later that "We would tell them [school] this is what we want. We will push them forward [when the principal changes]" (MC, 10 Feb 2003). She continued saying that before she did not know if the school could incorporate subsistence into the curriculum to a significant extent and did not know if school staff and the community could bring about what they wanted to do at school. She commented that school was the institution best organised to arrange projects with children and that after all they did have a financial foundation for doing so. The relationship between the school and the community seemed to be transforming. It seems that either the outdoor education strategy had finally bridged the two separate parties, or the school had found a way to reach the students' and the community's world. They may be heading towards a day when the community believes the school is 'theirs' and extended research to investigate the changing relationships would clearly be worthwhile.

## People's Relationships with their Natural Environment

An overview of the residents' cultural heritage in contemporary Russian Mission was presented earlier in this chapter. They perceive a strong connection with their land especially through land food, despite the fact that they do not physically engage in subsistence as much as they used to. In this section I explore in more detail three key concepts concerning the residents' relationships with the natural environment.

### A Cycle of Life

Traditionally the fundamental ideology which dictated much of Yup'ik worldviews seems to be 'the principle of the cycle of life' (Fienup-Riordan, 1986, 1990; Kawagley, 1995, 1999). Fienup-Riordan (1990) describes 'cycling of human souls' and states that in the Yup'ik world, no one ever finally passes away out of existence, and the human soul is passed on from one generation to the next. This is symbolised in their 'naming' custom where newborn children are usually named after someone who recently died, expressing the belief that the soul of the recently dead is born again. This practice was still widespread in Russian Mission when I visited. Besides 'Western' or Christian names, residents had Yup'ik names, which were given in this way. According to the locals, there are usually signs to show 'who is coming back', and a baby often shows similar habits and physical features to someone, or a few people in some cases, whom s/he was named after.

In the light of the principle of cycling of souls, it is traditionally believed that hunted animals would be born again if their souls are treated with respect. Animals and fish are believed to give themselves voluntarily to humans who are aware of the rules of the proper relationship between humans and animals, and between humans and humans (Fienup-Riordan, 1990, p. 45). This principle calls for humans to take responsibility for caring for the environment and all the elements of nature, including fire, rivers and rocks. As the dead are born again, what is received from the natural world must be given away, and the land that cares for humans must be cared for in return.

Though naming is still practised, understanding of it needs to be looked at. Father Peter Askoar of the Russian Orthodox Church in Russian Mission said he named his daughter and grandchild after his father and mother "out of love for them" (23 March 2002). He considered that his father was "not there" but it comforted him to imagine that he lived on in the child. He rejected the cycle ideology by saying it did not make sense that he was born thousands of times and also "in my opinion it limits God's ability" (23 March 2002). As Russian Orthodoxy is considered important for Yup'ik residents in Russian Mission and Father Peter is highly respected, the way he thinks can be assumed to be influential. Many people appeared inclined not to blindly believe in the 'cycle of human souls', but neither did they seem to completely deny it. Nonetheless, as explained below, the application of the principle to human-nature relationships is no longer cohesive.

**A Receiver or a Taker**

There are indications that some Alaska Native groups used to have their own laws to govern the harvest in a sustainable way[20]. A person from Russian Mission implied they had their own management rules in the past but this was not verified by anyone else during my research. I explored to what extent the community members now take the 'position of a receiver'. Even if it may not be in anyone's consciousness, Hull asserted in the interviews that the relationship still existed and if a person spent enough time hunting, a relationship based on respect would most likely be nurtured.

I asked a man in his late 30s who was regarded as one of the best subsistence hunters in the village whether or not he went out to the land and took whatever he liked. His answer was:

> Well we don't just go out and take, we get what we need, we respect the land'cause we get things from off the land...The way I do it, I try to respect the land like I do to my elders. 'Cause they're the ones that teach me how to do things and I go out and the land gives me what I want. It's what I think of it. (23 March 2002)

He sometimes believed that animals gave themselves up to a hunter, and added "I thank them for doing that. Especially in hard times when we couldn't get something, you go out and there's something right there and it don't run away, it just stands there" (Fieldnotes, 23 March 2002).

A man in his 40s was talking about sled dogs, and said "they are animals in one kind. We are called 'humans', and they are called 'dogs'. Some of them are called 'moose'. I respect them as they respect me" (Fieldnotes, 12/03/02). I asked him if animals came to him to give themselves up or he went out and took them. His response was "It seems now that you go out and get them. But you can interpret it as they come to you, too. In a way, yes" (Fieldnotes, 12/03/02). A number of people expressed their strong physical and spiritual connection with them. NB said "Foods are given to us. In Yup'ik we have a word for *food coming from the land*, you know, *Earth given*"[21] (Fieldnotes, 22/03/02).

These examples can be considered as a 'receiver' attitude. On the other hand, another hunter in his late 30s said "Me I don't think that way, I don't think they give themselves up to me, but I don't know, it depends on how you are hunting I guess or how you're trying to catch them". When I asked if he felt any respect towards animals or nature, he said "Respect?...Well it's...no just, if I caught something then I'd be happy for it but other than that I don't". To a question whether or not he went out and took whatever he wanted, he answered "yes" as long as it was a lawfully permitted season. He added he would try to get a moose or two for the winter as that would be enough for his needs. As this indicates, even though he may not consciously perceive respect, his position on hunting was clear. He did not take more than he and his family needed for the season (22 March 2002).

His comments overall seemed to suggest a 'taker' approach, but during the interview and conversations he stressed that it was important to know how to 'take care of' animals when he hunted. He may have meant purely practical procedures to skin and cut meat so that he could carry them home. This is a typical phrase in Alaska, meaning to handle the animals after the kill. Once I watched him cook a beaver. He treated the beaver carefully, and skinned it with a great care. His handling was meticulous and respectful. He did not waste anything and from time to time expressed how much he and others appreciated animals as they provide food. It may be just a usual practice for him rather than one based on conscious respect, but, as is commented on in the following section, if animals were watching him, they would have been satisfied with the way they were treated, as it was exactly what 'a good hunter' was supposed to do[22]. In this sense, he was not a 'conscious receiver', but his attitude might have been supported by an unconscious respect for something which sustained his life. In other words, traditional practices still remained and the 'receiver' attitude based on respect was observed among people in general, though the rationale might have been changed or been lost. Moreover, this discussion indicates that a notion of respect has a clear and direct link to sustainability in the Yup'ik worldviews.

**A Watchful World**

Linked to the hunters' relationships to animals is another traditional belief, that of a 'watchful world'. This traditional concept is common to other Alaska Native peoples (Nelson, 1983), and is a foundation of their worldviews (Kawagley, 1995; Martz, 2002). It is the belief that everything in the world has awareness, and is watching you from somewhere. Even stones or streams have awareness. Pay respect because they can even hear you. You had better behave respectfully and treat them well, dead or alive, otherwise they will not treat you well. We are living in a 'watchful world'.

Concerning this concept, a person in his 50s firmly said "In the world of Yup'ik tradition...IT IS alive [original emphasis]. I was taught exactly that. Everything is aware of their existence. If we mistreat animals they go away. They don't want to be caught by us who are mistreating their remains" (Fieldnotes, 23/03/02). However, the man in his late 30s, who was regarded as a skilled hunter, said "I never heard that" (Fieldnotes, 22/03/02). Apart from the person in his 50s above, no one responded to this explanation as something they were associated with. On the other hand, a woman in her early 40s told me about their myths[23]. Their myths integrated humans, non-humans and spirits, teaching people how to behave and to be respectful to each other. It implied a 'watchful world' concept.

## Participants' Views of Experiences

This section first discusses findings concerning Yup'ik children, then outlines the participants' perceptions of their experiences. It also explores their connection with the land.

### Sources of Analysis

The 'participants' of the outdoor educational programme in this chapter are students of Russian Mission School. As explained earlier my attention was primarily on 6th and 7th graders, but interview data included one 12th grade female student. In addition to information from a total of 11 semi-structured interviews, the data came from observation, conversation, written questionnaires about their concept of the environment (see Appendix 1c) and the written or 'website products' of students, developed in school classes. When I refer to 'young people' in this section, this is mostly restricted to 12-15-year-olds. I included some data from 16-18-year-olds, but it is not substantial enough to generalise in relation to their traditional worldviews and contemporary lifestyle.

All the interviews were carried out in the principal's room or a coffee room next to a secretary's office. Outside of the school buildings might have been preferable for the purpose, but this was the only private space available in the village and the most feasible place to meet with the students. The principal's room was usually very accessible to the students, and I observed that the students went in and out of the

room as if it were their home. The students did not seem to mind using the room for interviews. However, to what extent the space affected the freedom for students to speak is unknown.

I observed that many junior high students were not comfortable with the process of semi-structured interviews. Most of them were not at all forthcoming during the interviews. They tended to look shy, say only 'yes' or 'no', and hardly elaborated. When encouraged to expand, they often replied, 'I don't know', after a long pause of hard thinking. The girls tended to speak more freely than the boys did. The high school student did elaborate and share her thoughts more fully than the junior high students. Even so, in general they found it difficult to comment on some abstract questions such as the influence of the outdoor experiences. Hull considered it a developmental issue and not unusual for their age. He thought the abstract questions concerning their experiences were too difficult for them to find appropriate words to respond. Hull later added in a personal communication that the difficulty in expressing themselves in words was also partly cultural and environmental. 'Not setting yourself above others' is a part of being Yup'ik and describing their feelings may be taken in some contexts as boasting. To reflect upon their experience and then find words to describe their feelings appears "more Western, more analytical, and more often in the village things are approached indirectly with language" (M. Hull, personal communication, 23 March 2003). It could be environmental, as the children lived in a small village, growing up with the same groups of people, and

they had less need to explain themselves to someone from outside who did not share their world.

Children were much more eloquent and open when speaking with me outside in informal conversations, though I did not ask abstract questions then. Moreover, I noticed that these children often communicated non-verbally. They have traditional ways of expressing their feelings and opinions by facial movements, and some children employed these more often than the others. In listening to the recorded interviews, often the child was silent, but nonetheless was actually responding. Because of these factors, it was more appropriate and indeed necessary that a range of methods were employed to aid understanding of their world.

**Young People's Day-to-Day Outdoor and Cultural Heritage Experiences**

The interviews and conversation with the children suggested that the extent of their experiences on the land varied from individual to individual. A few boys had considerable subsistence experiences, whereas one child had hardly any. Even for those who appeared to have extensive experiences on the land, there were things they tried for the first time during school classes, but for most, almost everything was new. Only three of 10 students said they had been beaver trapping before. Making a snow shelter and climbing a hill (560 meters) was a first time experience for everyone. There were clear indications that the school outings were expanding the land (outdoor) experiences for all the students.

During interviews, all the students talked about their experiences on the land, either spontaneously or when asked. These were not necessarily related to school outings. The subsistence they engaged in was hunting, berry picking or fishing. Three girls indicated they used to go out but had done so less frequently lately. They implied that they stopped going out when some of their grandparents died.

The closeness between the young people and the land was also demonstrated when they talked about what they enjoyed doing in their daily life. Five out of six people spoke of something linked to the outdoors such as camping or hunting. One said he liked to play hockey (indoors). One 14-year-old said he liked going hunting for moose or bear and sleeping in a tent. Knowing he usually liked to take his music with him everywhere, I asked if it was not too quiet for him to sleep out. He replied: "No, there's always the birds" (XU, 19 March 2002).

Girls tended to have narrower practical experiences. None of the girls had extensive experiences with guns, whereas all boys had. One 13-year-old girl said girls usually do not go hunting. However, some families took them hunting, though it did not mean the girls actually shot. On the other hand, all boys except one said they had gone hunting with their families, and their experiences continued. One boy caught a duck when he was six, and another killed his first moose when he was nine or ten years old. One boy had no significant hunting experience, whereas one

13-year-old could tell his stories of the land non-stop. He was the only one of those I interviewed who went out in winter for subsistence activities. He clearly demonstrated extensive experiences and outdoor knowledge, and he was extremely comfortable outside. He completed the part of the questionnaire on concept of the environment by saying, "Nature is a home to me". How children expressed their relationships with the environment is returned to later.

Even though the children's experiences on the land may not be substantial, they were occasionally exposed to activities linked to the land and picked up the subsistence way of life more than the adults might assume. The conversation between the two girls revealed their experiences which taught them how to respect the animals.

CN Beaver snares was my first time.
RE I don't like cutting, because they stink up.
CN Especially wolf.
RE Yeap!
TT You've done that?
CN, RE Yeap. In Bethel. We brought it in the house of our uncle and it started stinking up. We had to cover its face.
TT Oh, to pay respect?
RE Uhu
TT What did you use to cover?
CN We could use...em...a towel or paper towel.
TT Did you cover the face while you were cutting?
CN No, when you first bring it into a house, you have to cover it with a towel or paper towel over its face. 'Cause em...show our respect to the animals. (Fieldnotes,18/03/02)

The high school girl held her childhood experiences as something special. She used to follow her grandfather in his fish camp. Through his encouragement she learned to cut strips from king salmon when she was 11. Being able to fillet king salmon properly is considered to be socially significant in Russian Mission. Her grandfather died in 1997, and her trips to his fish camp had ended. He had told her that plants and trees had awareness, and humans were a part of the world. He was passing on the traditional Yup'ik philosophy of a 'watchful world'. Her comments illuminated an important role of the grandparents in passing on values. There was more evidence in the students' interviews that their grandparents taught them traditional knowledge such as weather forecasting.

The young people all knew about covering the faces of certain animals. They agreed the principle of paying respect so that it would bring good luck in hunting, though they disagreed about some of the rules. On the other hand, no one mentioned about a 'watchful world' except the high school girl mentioned above. When I asked some of them about the concept they replied they had never heard of it. Regarding the idea that animals gave themselves up to hunters, some said 'yes' and others said 'no', based on their experiences rather than beliefs they were taught. The variety of land food they ate at home was dependent on the extent of their family's subsistence activities. Everyone ate salmon, moose, blackfish, pike, various berries and *akutaq,*[24] but usually the variety did not go much beyond that for

many of them. One girl said she ate nothing but 'Ramen noodles'. They were extremely fond of soda, crisps and other 'junky' snacks, but their main diet in general was closely associated with land food.

In summary, the students' comments revealed that they all had experienced the outdoors to a certain extent, and some children more than the others. Boys tended to have more experiences than girls, but their experiences depended greatly on their families. In general, they seemed to have more experiences when they were younger, in particular with their grandparents. As their experiences were not constant and systematic, they picked up traditional beliefs and attitudes through accidental events and occasional stories from adults. Significantly some but not all carried the same traditional knowledge and understanding of the world, though they exchanged stories among themselves and to some degree shared mutual cultural understandings. To a certain extent an environment for knowledge transfer remained in Russian Mission.

**Experiences of Outdoor Programmes**

*Reluctance and Joy*

In principle, the students' participation in the programme was not voluntary. It was part of the school curriculum and regardless of their willingness they were required to do it in the same way as maths and social studies. Perhaps that was why during the interviews the children did not show much excitement about the outings, though

they did say the outdoor classes were 'good'. Before the classes I observed very excited children and I saw extremely reluctant and uncooperative behaviours as well. Despite any reluctance, they usually became very active once they went outside and engaged in an activity. A high school student said that she did not want to participate in the outdoor classes, and described how much she was bored at first. But she started to enjoy it after a while and the sessions turned out to be transforming experiences for her. One day outside of the school building the instructor was showing a junior high school girl how to make a rabbit snare using a wire. The girl looked at him and irritably asked: "Why do you need to do this? I don't need it". The instructor said quietly but strongly "It doesn't matter if you like it or not. You've got to do it to get a credit. This is a class". The girl replied angrily by saying "I don't need a credit!" (Fieldnotes, 05/03/02).

Plate 7.2 An instructor helps a boy setting a rabbit snare in willow bush

The compulsory nature of school work had advantages and disadvantages. Often Yup'ik parents do not force their children to do something if they resist. This contributes to a lack of land experiences among the young people. On one occasion the subsistence class instructor was talking about his son and said he usually did not want to go out hunting. Then he continued by saying "I don't try to force him. 'Cause if I force him doing something he don't want to do, he won't like it and he won't do it" (Fieldnotes, 21/03/02). The same person was 'forcing' the junior high students to engage in some activities because it was part of school curriculum. I presume he felt a dilemma, doing something which conflicted with his belief concerning learning and treating young people. Although it is a shared norm in understanding school that everyone must do certain things, this is a disadvantage in terms of further alienation of school from community values. The children in Russian Mission were encouraged and sometimes pushed into trying something they were reluctant to do, but this did result in some children expanding their experiences. They were exposed to what their parents valued, and they usually enjoyed it after all. The instructors commented that the children may be reluctant just because they were not sure what to expect. If the outdoor programmes were not compulsory, then they might never have been conducted at all. However, there are differences between forcing them to do maths and the subsistence class. In the context of their lives, the latter has more direct perceived relevance and practical implications, making it easier for students to accept.

*Cool Experiences*

The 11 students I interviewed all seemed to have a positive feeling about what they did outdoors through school. The general expression used was 'cool'. The analysis of the interviews showed that the elements of what they enjoyed consisted of aesthetic, interaction with animals and friends, unexpected events, a sense of achievement, peacefulness, and fun involved in certain activities, in addition to the whole experiences which they did not specify. Riding around on snow machines was most popular among them. Many students did not have private access to snow machines, and it provided excitement for them when they got a ride with friends or they briefly drove by themselves.

Seven students gave reasons why they thought it was good to have outdoor classes. Three students said it provided good experiences and learning. Two students liked it because it was more fun to go out with friends, whereas staying in town was boring. Two other students said it was much better than sitting and doing work at school and it was an excuse not to go to school.

*Perceived Learning*

As perceived learning, they listed practical matters such as beaver trapping, how to shoot, canoeing on sloughs, setting blackfish traps, making fire starters, etc. One said she learned "new stuff about wilderness" (NM, 20 March 2002). The high

school student said the school outings provided her with good experiences of "how to live on our own" (NB, 26 March 2002).

The young people listed practical skills as the things they had learned, but to what extent they actually learnt the skills is another issue. Many of them tried different activities only once, though even this would probably have given them some confidence. The two instructors agreed that the students needed more experience living off the land, but some of them had learned enough to do some activities by themselves, such as line fishing and setting a trap for blackfish or beavers. When I went out with four girls at Wassily's Cabin, they demonstrated how to *manaq* (ice fish), explaining fish behaviour. Some of them tried *manaqing* for their first time at school. They also started a fire in a wood stove at the cabin using a fire starter they made at school. These were indications of the practical learning the organisers aimed at.

**Perceived Influence**

Except for the high school student, none of them seemed to have a clear perception of the programme's influence, although some of their comments gave an indication. For example, SF said that she wanted to continue going camping. She was convinced through her school experiences that camping was fun. For most of the girls and some boys, these experiences seemed to have affected their views of the land. SF said that because of the experiences she had, she now thought her

environment was "not that trashy, not that hilly, and...quiet" (17 March 2002). KC said she realised their environment was much bigger than she previously thought. Two boys and one girl said they felt they knew their place better. One boy simply said "it [this land] is good" (OD, 19 March 2002) without elaborating further. On the other hand the high school girl expressed a deep influence on her as follows:

> ...after we started doing this camping stuff I got really interested in going out and seeing the wilderness 'cause it's so quiet and really beautiful out there... I just want to like go out there, camp on my own without anybody bothering me or telling me what to do or...having my rotten brothers around and my sister being really grouchy...I got really interested in the outside world, the wilderness, after we had all these experiences with outside. I don't know, everything just interests, interests me, the animals and picking berries, life without electricity. (NB, 26 March 2002)

In addition to a strong interest in life on the land, she became more aware of life in the past and her heritage. She has made a conscious connection with the land, the past and present, and the web of life.

With a few exceptions, at the time of the interviews the students did not verbally express a sense of a strong bond with their environment. However, as shown above many children either positively expressed or changed their views toward their environment, and they all enjoyed being out camping. The students may not have perceived it and expressed it as 'their way of life', but my observations show that

they were immersed in the experiences on the land and in learning who they are and what their role is in the place they can call 'home' or 'their environment'.

*Relationship with the Land*

Whether the land experiences through the school were nurturing the 'receiver' attitude among the young people is difficult to determine. Observation and conversation sometimes indicated the opposite. For example students were excited in chasing after animals for fun which seems to contradict the idea of 'paying respect'. Nevertheless there were indications of their profound connection with the land. If the extent and depth of exposure to the land counts, most of the children were still at the beginning stage. For the first time, school has begun to offer these students significant land experiences over a prolonged period. Two boys and one girl expressed that 'nature' around Russian Mission was 'home' to them. One of the two boys wrote in the questionnaire that "Nature is good for me because it has animals to hunt and it's my home". I asked him to elaborate during the interview.

> 'Cause we can make a fish camp for this...so we can sit down and ...[thinking hard, trying to find words] wait...so we can sit down...I forgot...so we can catch fish and cut fish and save them up there. (OD, 19 March 2002)

Clearly he had difficulty in explaining, and he tried hard to look for words to frame his thoughts. However, his comment gave me a clue as to why he said nature was his home. Both of the two boys had their family fish camps to go to in summer

away from the village. The whole family would live in a tent, and there would be no one else around on the large island where they set up the camp. The family would live there for an entire summer, working together, fishing, filleting, drying, smoking, etc. The camp itself would be part of nature and that would be their home for a while. His attitude of perceiving nature as home made sense. For those who know how to live with it, nature provides them with food and comfort, as does 'home'.

Concerning their environment, a number of students described it as 'quiet and peaceful'. Such comments should be set into context. They often talked about how noisy village life could get. TE, 12 years old, said being on the land was "better than in town. You can sleep easier 'cause there's no noises" (19 March 2002). The students I talked with lived with one to five other siblings (an average of 3.7 siblings excluding themselves) and they told me that their houses and rooms were 'really messy and noisy', especially because their little brothers and sisters 'got into the rooms and mess around'. Conversations with locals and my experiences at people's houses showed that many students would not have quiet time at home or in the village as a whole. One morning I met an adult female resident who looked very tired. She told me she could not sleep because people, including neighbours, had been drinking all night, and they were very loud on the street as well as inside their houses. She finally opened the window and shouted to them to be quiet. The

children would have the same experience, and sometimes worse when violence was involved.

Therefore outside the village, which is a wild environment, could be the only place for the young people in Russian Mission to be alone and feel calm. Their comments describing nature as 'peaceful' might be very practical. Nevertheless, peaceful feelings contribute to a positive relationship and a sense of 'home' entails a variety of connotations such as safety, comfort and centre of orientation (see Chapter 2). To feel comfortable and safe, they would need to know about the environment very well. The 13-year-old girl who wrote that nature was where she found peace had hardly any previous land experiences before school started the new curriculum. Providing such opportunities were clearly a significant contribution of the programmes. Another 13-year-old, who also had hardly any intensive land experiences before, said the view from the top of the hill, which she climbed with a school class, was so beautiful that she felt an appreciation of nature.

As Hull suggested, building a strong relationship with the environment among many young people in Russian Mission might be a matter of opening the channel once again. Whether in the long run it would lead them to adopt a 'receiver' rather than 'taker' attitude remains to be seen. The prospect may not appear likely, considering that the traditional cultural values of the community do not seem to be coherently shared and also that modern technology brings powerful distractions. However, the

environment around the village remains overwhelming, and the young people listened to stories which remind them of the cultural value that they live in a 'watchful world'. They knew the concept of paying respect to animals and spirits. They clearly understood that wild animals sustained their life and many perceived that they themselves were part of nature. The custom of sharing the 'first catch' was strongly practised, which strengthened traditional values and perpetuated a bond among the community and animals, as well as contributing to the students' self-esteem as students expressed this during interviews. Even the man who declared he did not respect animals was sending culturally correct messages to children just by maintaining his usual practice of catching only what he needed, taking proper care of the hunted animals, never wasting anything and never leaving a mess behind. If more community members, both men and women, become involved in the school programme, it seems likely that the 'receiver' relationship with the land could be nurtured among the young people. However, once lost the spiritual dimension may not be recovered and the reasons for certain behaviours and practices may become different from the traditional ones.

## Implications for Education for Sustainability

The school's outdoor programmes had an instant and direct implication for understanding 'sustainability'. A few residents had mentioned that because the terrorist attack in New York on 11 September 2001 had led to a subsequent flight ban in the USA, the food shelves at the two small stores in Russian Mission became virtually empty. Their knowledge of living off the land was perceived vital to sustain their lives in the village, and that was what the school had been working on.

Just like many other towns in any nation that rely on external financial assistance and governmental public works to provide temporary jobs, life in Russian Mission is certainly not independent. No settlements can be self-sufficient as they rely on external food, water and energy sources. In this sense sustainable use of wildlife, and other local renewable resources, is the means for independent living in Russian Mission and a significant contribution to the mixed economy[25]. From this perspective, in terms of bare physical survival, Hull considered that those in Russian Mission would be "the most sustainable people on the planet", and that the area is "one of the most sustainable corners of the planet" (M. Hull, 10 March 2002) because community members are still close enough to the resources and they know how to use them well.

School outdoor programmes were certainly addressing how to become 'sustainable producers', meaning being able to live off the land without totally relying on external

goods. However, this is provided their environment continues to be healthy enough to support humans in a sustainable manner. What makes sustainable use of their environment possible and to what extent does the school programme address this? Hull aimed to cultivate a'receiver' attitude to nature through the programmes. This attitude is based on 'respect' for animals, spirits and the natural environment, and for Yup'ik people, 'respect' directly connects to sustainability. Moreover, their environment is vast and there is only an isolated human population of 300. It seems almost absurd to talk about sustainability because the visible impact of humans seems negligible. Contrary to the past, however, now the pressure on the land has significantly increased due to the innovations of modern technology. Moreover, people are in severe competition with many others' interests such as fishing industries, sport hunters and resource management offices for almost everything on the land. The wildlife is also generally threatened by transboundary pollution and environmental degradation caused by humans in distant industrial regions. Residents of Russian Mission have to take these factors into account in relation to the sustainability of their future.

It appeared that people understood the general principal and the consequences of over exploitation. However whether people would stop catching certain animals to prevent a future decline was not discussed. Though they knew whether certain animals were abundant or scarce[26], the knowledge did not seem to affect their behaviour. On the other hand, as their life relies substantially on harvested wildlife,

it would be difficult to simply stop the practice even if some species were decreasing, especially when the causes of decline may be external, as in the case of coastal salmon fishing. In this respect the school programme could also address the complex nature of issues around contemporary 'environmental sustainability' as it also has a direct impact on their lives.

## Findings

Interviews with residents of Russian Mission led me to conclude that the traditional mode of transferring knowledge was not functioning well because of the social change in the community that was partly brought about by the introduction of school. In this context, the school's outdoor curriculum was devised to give young people the local knowledge necessary to sustain their lives in the area, and also to address the social and educational issues which were attributed to (assumed) low self-esteem and uncertainty about identity.

The organisers had two main objectives. One was to have the students gain knowledge and practical skills to survive on the land where they resided. Another was to assure their identity based on their relationship with the land. Hull especially hoped to cultivate a 'receiver' attitude to nature. Ultimately the school aimed to help the students become responsible and contributing members of the community based on Yup'ik traditional philosophy of *Yuuyaraq*.

Generally the young people had difficulty in verbally expressing themselves concerning their experiences on the land. However, observations show that they were systematically expanding their experiences, accumulating practical skills and knowledge and getting to know their land through school programmes. Some students who had little previous substantial outdoor experience formed a strong interest in being on the land and became aware of a connection with their heritage. They all came to understand that their life in the village directly depended on their environment. As the Yup'ik language is now not spoken in the village except by elders, and as community members' traditional values and beliefs are patchy, it would not appear to be easy for the young people to learn *Yuuyaraq*. Nonetheless, they still held some traditional values and beliefs among themselves and these could be strengthened if the will existed in the community. Some of them had already developed deep relationships with their environment, and the school's programmes were contributing to this. Some expressed that nature was their 'home' and said they found 'peace' being on the land.

The school's attempts to integrate subsistence activities into their curriculum was received very well by the community members, because it meant that the school was supporting community values. Both the organisers and the community members felt that the programmes would help the students prepare for their lives whether they choose to go for higher education or decided to remain in the village. However,

there were conflicting views in the community as to whether the village lifestyle should be actively promoted among the young people.

As in many communities in rural Alaska, the Russian Mission community members saw a sharp division between school and themselves in terms of the method of teaching and what it prepared children for. However, both community members and school staff felt their relationship had improved because of the integrated curriculum. As the community began to perceive some 'ownership' of the school, it raised the possibility that the community would feel more 'empowered' as a result. As social and schooling issues among the young people cannot be separated from their communal environment, a positive change of attitude in the community may also contribute to how the young people develop and learn. Since the start of the 'outdoor' programme, the students' academic skills demonstrated significant improvement and judging from data gathered the reasons were assumed to be as follows: the school's curriculum based on subsistence activities provided a relevant academic framework for the students; the improved relationship between community and school influenced the students; teacher-student relationships became more positive; and the students enjoyed the outdoor based curriculum and were generally more motivated as a result.

It was revealed that many Yup'ik residents spent less time on the land and their attachment to the land had to be retrieved from their past experiences. Nevertheless,

they expressed and demonstrated their intimate relationships with the land especially through attachment to subsistence food, which seemed to be an integral part of their sense of identity. Harvested land food was reported as a substantial part of their diet. The significance of learning practical skills went beyond the individual's benefit to an expectation that the students would help their families and the community as a whole. Their relationship with the land was expressed as inseparable from their heritage and a way of life. According to Yup'ik philosophy, education for their way of life delivers all necessary learning. In this respect, 'being on the land' was important in learning how to become a whole Yup'ik person.

By actively integrating community values, Russian Mission School became a more integrated part of the community. It departed from the conventional approach of school and showed the possibility of achieving something that schools in rural Alaska are claimed not to have done: to equip the students practically, intellectually, emotionally and spiritually with what they would need to live in the village and beyond. However, the extent to which the goals have been achieved and the possibility of other unforeseen outcomes would need to be examined longitudinally. This case study raised many important questions: what is the purpose of education, how important is the cultural and geographical context in the process of education, and how relevant is this model for other peoples and societies? The influence of external educational institutions, which have different perceptions of these

fundamental issues, seems to lie at the heart of the issues which the organisers tried to address through the outdoor programmes in Russian Mission School.

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Notes:

[1] Using Bureau of Indian Affairs, US Department of Interior as a source, C. Barnhardt (1985) suggests it was 1906.
[2] Petrivilli (1998) suggests that depending on communities, subsistence resources account from 10% to as much as 90% of the Alaska Natives' nutritional intake (p. 269). Wolfe and Walker (1987) indicate that the annual harvests in Russian Mission amount to 599 lb per person, which are predominantly fish, whereas an average American purchases 222 lb of meat, fish and poultry.
[3] As explained in Chapter 4, I used 'Elders' in referring to Alutiiq elders based on the usual usage in literature to stress an aspect of culture bearers, but 'elders' in other North American groups' contexts also connote the same meaning.
[4] The Permanent Fund Dividend (called 'dividend' in short) was created in 1977 to pool some portion of oil royalties for the time when the revenues declined. It has been distributed among Alaska residents since 1982. Regardless of age and nationalities, anyone who has spent ten months of the previous calendar year in Alaska is eligible. The amount was $1850.28 in 2001, and $1540.76 in 2002.
[5] Martz's Yup'ik name is 'Dajuk' and she did not know her English given name 'Cecilia' until someone at the boarding school told her it was her that a white American teacher was calling her name. She was sent to school at the age of four and she knew no English at all then.
[6] A traditional outer garment usually made out of cotton with the look of a smock with hood.
[7] 'Land food' and 'country food' are used interchangeably.
[8] Concerning school-community relationship, as Hull was a white American with power and authority, the way he approached the students was a sensitive issue. According to Hull, he adopted a directive approach when necessary and in a manner which would suit their culture in order to enhance the learning. Through his long service in Alaskan rural communities, he had developed deep admiration for Yup'ik traditions. The interviews and conversations with him demonstrated his respect and love of the Yup'ik people. It was apparent that his understanding of the culture was a positive influence in the integration of subsistence into school under the prevailing indifferent, if not hostile, relationship between schools and communities in Alaska. One of many examples of Hull's poetic expression is included in Appendix 4c to show his sharp observation and a profound feeling with the land and Yup'ik people.
[9] Slough is a swamp or muddy area.
[10] A ceremonial distribution of gifts or a feast given to a large number of persons.
[11] School's impact on people's life and the destruction of traditional modes of knowledge transfer is discussed more in Chapter 8.
[12] 'Yuq' means a person, and 'yuuyaraq' literally means "how to be a real person" (L. Bush, 22 March 2002). Napoleon (1999) translates it as "the way of the human being" (pp. 4-5), and defines it as the law by which the Yup'ik lived. The term covers

a range of broad and deep concepts, including morals and values, and it is based on a way of living close to the land as community. Bush said "if you follow Yuuyaraq, you live in harmony" (L. Bush, 22 March 02). To live in harmony includes relationships not only with other humans but also with animals, spirit and all the other elements of the world.

[13] This and similar views are found in other traditions among indigenous peoples in the Arctic (Brody, 1987; Caulfield, 1993; Nelson, 1983; Nuttal, 1991)

[14] The first of certain species that a person catches is culturally significant. Usually the first animal is thoroughly distributed among the community members without leaving anything for the catcher. It becomes a pride of the parents, showing the son or the daughter is growing and can provide for the community.

[15] Sharing confirms bonds among kinship and close social association. Overall it symbolises a survival of community and remains a distinctive statement of community (Nuttal, 1991).

[16] Subsistence is not an individual effort (Muktoyuk, 1998; Wolfe, 1982). To survive, Muktoyuk (1998, p. 277) says, it involves a close-knit community, working together with the natural cycle of animal, bird, and fish migrations.

[17] Appendix 4b has a record of my observations of one of the outdoor classes where the instructor struggled to 'herd' them.

[18] This is a term used in Alaskan schools to mean a student coming late in school.

[19] Some examples of their products are included in Appendix 4d.

[20] Petrivelli (1998) cites Paul Williams, a Gwich'in Athabascan: "Here in the Interior, the Athabascan people used the moose quite extensively. Their life depended on it in the early days...They had really stringent laws that people had to follow. The law according to what you can't take during each season, like in summer time or fall time. You had to get permission from the council or the chief or the elders in order to go out and get a moose at a certain time of the year. All these are tribal laws and moose is part of it: How to butcher the moose. How they sing songs before they hunt. And after they kill, who gets to eat it and in which manner. All that had laws. But now you could go out and get any moose any time. I know that is not right. We are breaking our own laws" (p. 269).

[21] *Nunamieutak* - food derived or coming from the land.

[22] The Alaska Natives have their own way of treating the hunted and butchering them, which they consider as 'proper'. Petrivelli (1998) likens this to the concept of 'kosher' in Jewish society where an item was obtained and prepared following certain rules and procedures.

[23] One of them was to do with the existence of 'Irrcenrraq'. According to her, they were people with special powers, and they could take you to their world. She cautiously said "They can hear us, and if we harm them in any way with our words, they can harm us" (18 March 2002).

[24] So called 'Eskimo ice cream'. The base is shortening and sugar which is mixed with various berries or pike, depending on the situation.

[25] Some authors recognise the significant contributions of subsistence to the state's regional economies, and urge the economic planning to enhance the practice rather than erode (Wolfe & Walker, 1987).

[26] The locals' accounts during my fieldwork agreed that populations of moose had been strong and the number of wolves was increasing. Some suspected a decrease in

wolverine and rabbits in 2002 due to the increase in wolf population. They suggested a decrease in certain kinds of fish and birds over the years.

# Chapter 8: 'Bonding with the Land' in Igloolik, Nunavut (Canada)

On a dark screen, a few human figures wrapped in animal furs swayed under the feeble light of an oil lamp, accompanied by a flat drumming beat and an impressive heavy voice, which sounded as if calling a spirit from the dark. 'Atanarjuat - the Fast Runner' was one of the highlights of the 2001 Cannes Film Festival. A story of jealousy, death and revenge among the Inuit prior to European influence, the film explores the social and spiritual world of the Inuit, and daily life in the harsh environment in the Arctic. Igloolik Isuma Productions made the film entirely on Igloolik Island, where my study was located, with a cast of local people and with their cooperation. I saw the film a few months before I flew to the research site. It was a good introduction, knowing I would be camping in a similar environment, on the same frozen land and sea. The film dramatised a local story orally passed down for generations, and I had questions about the extent to which it reflected current Igloolik worldviews and values. The answers were to unfold as my visit progressed.

This chapter explores an educational programme organised by an Inuit elders' group in Igloolik, Canada. First the community is contextualised geographically, historically and socially. Next the organisers and the programmes are discussed and the course I observed is used to illustrate learning and teaching outcomes.

Participants' views of their experiences are then analysed and contrasted with the values and intentions of the organisers and other community members. Finally, the potentially enduring significance of the educational programmes is discussed.

## Background Information on the Research Site

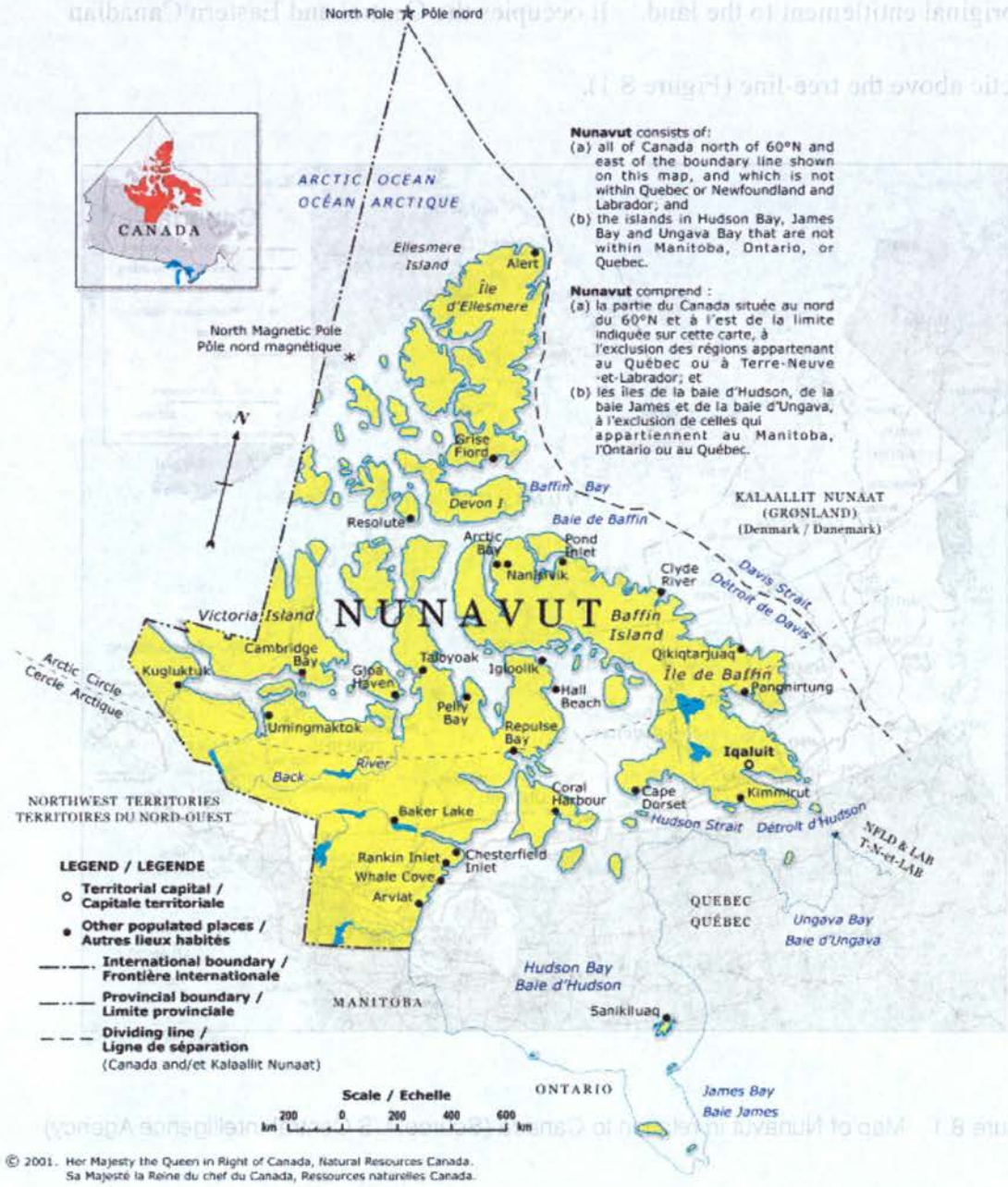
### Overview of Nunavut

Nunavut became the latest Canadian self-governing territory in April 1999, 28 years after the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada began working towards establishing Inuit aboriginal entitlement to the land. It occupies the Central and Eastern Canadian Arctic above the tree-line (Figure 8.1).


Figure 8.1 Map of Nunavut in relation to Canada (Source: US Central Intelligence Agency)

Nunavut – 'our land' in Inuktitut - has a population of 26,745 of which more than 80% are estimated to be Inuit (Statistics Canada, 2001). At 1,926,000 km² Nunavut is "an area close to half [the size] of Europe, excluding Russia" (Loken, 1999).

Figure 8.2 Map of Nunavut (Source: Natural Resources Canada)



There are 28 communities[1] spread across the region, in addition to a number of outpost camps where families live chiefly by hunting and fishing. Each community houses between 77 (Nanisivik) and 5,236 (Iqaluit) residents (Statistics Canada, 2001). More than 50% of Nunavut land is distributed across a large archipelago of numerous islands (Figure 8.2), where in the 19th to early 20th century many European expeditions ventured in search of the Northwest Passage (Riewe, 1992). Due to its vastness and the diversity of physical geography, climate varies across the region, but all areas can be defined as arctic or sub-arctic.

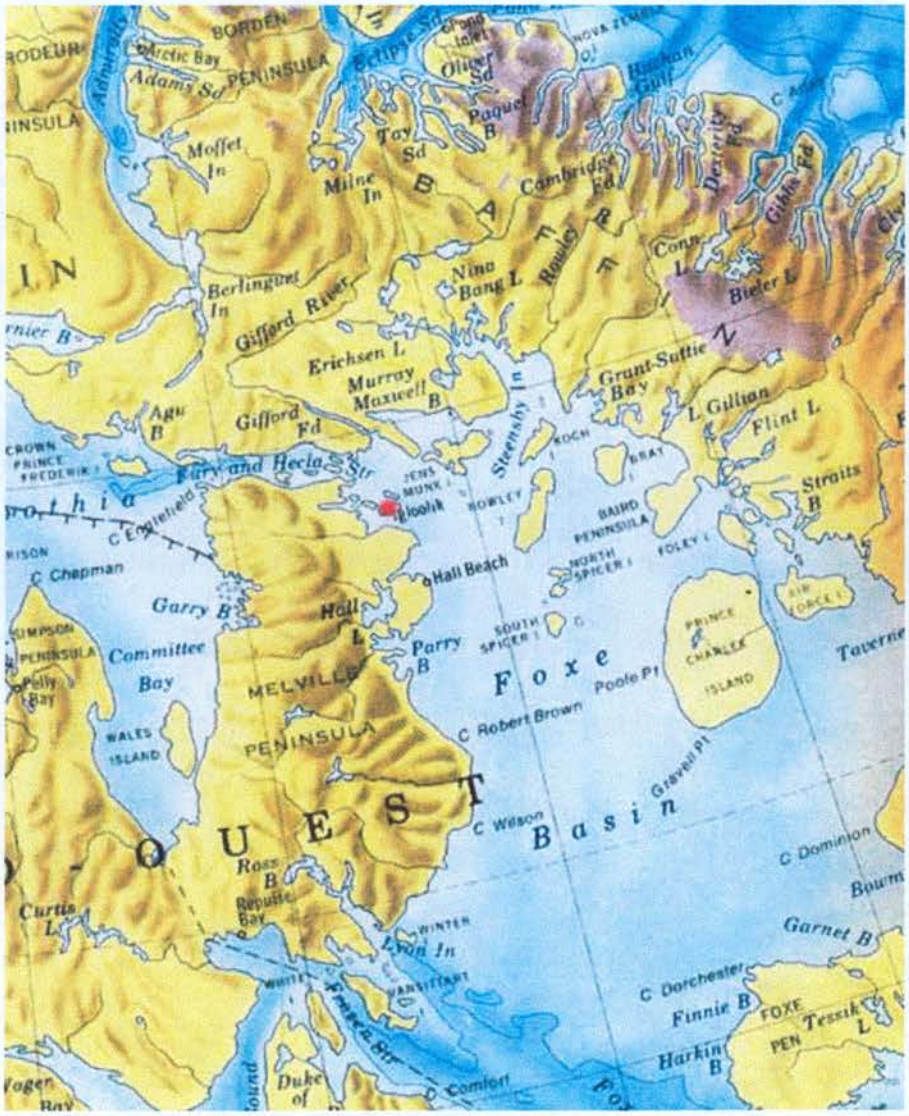
In the Inuktitut language, one person is 'Inuk', and two persons are 'Inuuk'. Three or more are 'Inuit', equivalent to the English plural noun 'people'. Research on the origins of these people has been accumulated by examination of geological, archaeological, linguistic, cultural, dental, and genetic evidence (McGhee, 2001; Shephard & Rode, 1996). Though there is no agreed conclusion, it is generally thought that the ancestors of the Inuit reached the Eastern Arctic from the West about 1000 years ago, absorbing or displacing a hunting people who had occupied the region (McGhee, 2001; Rigby, MacDonald, & Otak, 2000; Shephard & Rode, 1996).

**Igloolik: Geography and the Environment**

Because the range of activity of the people of Igloolik stretches well beyond the island, it is important to have an awareness of the entire region. The community of Igloolik is located on Igloolik Island, a small horseshoe-shaped island in the northern

Foxe Basin, just off the Melville Peninsula and about 300km north of the Arctic Circle (Figure 8.3). The nearest community is on the Melville Peninsula, about 70km south of Igloolik, and there is only one other community within a 350km radius. The island is flat, gravely and sparsely vegetated, unlike the Melville Peninsula and Baffin Island (60km North of Igloolik), which have hills, ragged mountains, and lakes and fjords formed by glacial action.

Figure 8.3 Igloolik and its vicinity (Igloolik Island is coloured in red.)




(Source: Canada. Department of Energy, Mines and Resources)

The most significant environmental feature of Igloolik is the surrounding shallow sea which is rich in marine wildlife and migratory birds (Crowe, 1970; MacDonald, 1999; RT & Associates, 2002). The sea ice around Igloolik usually breaks up in late July or early August and freeze-up occurs in mid- to late October. A 150km stretch of open lead[2] is caused by the currents in Foxe Basin which allows year-round access to sea mammals (Rasing, 1994). Conditions are especially favourable for walruses, and other sea mammals such as seals and whales. Polar bears are common, attracted by this rich diversity of marine mammals. The area also sustains caribou - an important source of food and clothing in the extremely cold and harsh weather. The fertile seas and the positive location have permitted relatively dense human settlement, dating back perhaps as much as 4000 years (Crowe, 1970; MacDonald, 1999; Rasing, 1994; RT & Associates, 2002). Iglulimgmiut[3] traditionally lived in small dispersed extended-family hunting camps. The size and location of these changed with the seasons and the availability of game[4]. When Europeans first visited the area 180 years ago, most families lived in *qarmat,* huts of stone, bone and sod while they were on land (Parry, 1824, pp. 279-280) and snow houses on ice in winter.

**Euro-Canadian Contact and Subsequent Changes**

It is believed that the British Navy ships Fury and Hecla were the first Europeans to make contact with the Inuit, when they wintered at Igloolik in 1822 under the

command of Captain William Edward Parry (MacDonald, 1999; Rasing, 1994). There are few recorded visits to the area following Parry's departure, but this initial contact saw the beginning of the adoption of imported technology.

In the mid-19th century, British and American companies began whaling off Baffin Island and in Hudson Bay. Their operation exploited both Inuit labour and their environmental knowledge. The ships came in at Pond Inlet, 400km NNE of Igloolik, and Repulse Bay, 360km SSW. Iglulingmiut travelled by dog teams to trade meat or skins with the whalers for goods such as guns, ammunition, tobacco, beads and buttons. The first firearms appeared in northern Foxe Basin in the 1860s. Crowe (1970) calls fox furs "the currency of the arctic in the early twentieth century" (p. 74), and rifles and whaleboats, the two most significant items in terms of people's hunting life, were easily acquired.

Towards the end of the 19th century, whaling lost its economic value, and commercial interest in the Arctic switched from whaling to fur trading (Rigby et al., 2000). The Hudson's Bay Company promoted the fur trade, and gradually established trading posts in all regions of Nunavut. The introduction of commercial trapping interrupted the cyclical activities and disrupted the subsistence lifestyle. Most significantly, Iglulingmiut began to live in a mixed economy, adding cash from trading to subsistence hunting, depending more and more on external materials and a

cash economy. This emphasis on fur-trading continued, on a diminishing scale, into the 1960s (Rigby et al., 2000)[5].

**Growth of Igloolik as a Settlement**

The first permanent outsiders settled on Igloolik Island in the 1930s. They were members of the Roman Catholic Mission and the Hudson's Bay Company. However, Iglulingmiut mostly continued to live in traditional camps in nearby coastal areas without much interference in their activity patterns (Crowe, 1970; Rigby et al., 2000). According to Rasing (1994) there were about 146 people in five camps around Igloolik in 1924. By 1949 this had almost doubled to 284 in 11 camps, but Igloolik itself had not yet grown into a permanent settlement, and most Iglulingmiut remained virtually self-reliant hunters, as they had been for centuries.

The community started to grow in the late 1950s for a combination of possible reasons: family allowance was introduced, Christianity gained ground, wage labour offered an alternative to hunting, and "job opportunities became a new factor that influenced families' choice of residence" (Rasing, 1994, p. 79). Government welfare programmes provided warm and sanitary houses and improved medical services. These were important as, from around 1950, epidemic infections such as measles and tuberculosis broke out among the Inuit (Brody, 1983, p. 25). An Anglican mission was established in 1959 and other institutions followed. By the mid-1960s these included a school, a nursing station, a detachment of the Royal

Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and an Igloolik Co-operative store (MacDonald, 1999; RT & Associates, 2002). At this time, the RCMP estimated that Igloolik had 100 permanent residents (Rasing, 1994). By 2001, this has grown to 1,286, 52% of whom were under 20 years of age (Statistics Canada 2001). During the fieldwork in May 2002, with information from Igloolik Research Centre, school teachers and other individuals, I estimated the total population of Igloolik to be around 1,320, of which about 95% were Inuit. Between 1996 and 2001, Igloolik's population increased by 9.5%, more than double the national increase of 4% (Statistics Canada, 2001). Appendix 5a includes a graphic illustration of an actual and projected Igloolik population growth from 1976 to 2017.

Today Igloolik is a town equipped with modern amenities including two large stores (one with a coffee shop), small shops, two hotels, elementary and high schools, three churches, a health centre, community hall, hockey arena, Inuusiq Youth Centre, Nunavut Arctic College, Igloolik Isuma Productions, a local office of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation and Igloolik Research Centre. There is a hamlet office that deals with Igloolik municipality matters, while a new building on the edge of the town houses the Nunavut Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth. A public library, with Internet access, is situated in the elementary school. There were 280 private houses, 210 of which were rented (Statistics Canada, 2001). On the streets of Igloolik, young people with dyed hair strolled around listening to music on portable players. Children eagerly practised snowboarding on a natural snow slope

in front of a supermarket. On the same street you might also see *kamiik* (traditional boots made of caribou hide) hung and dried, butchered seal remains left by the side of a house or a man fixing a sled. On the frozen ocean, away from the beach, sled dogs are chained down. On entering one of the homes you might smell sweet seal oil.

According to Brody (1983), by 1950 the Inuit's economic and social dependence on traders and missionaries was "virtually total" (p. 26). Nevertheless, despite the long but limited contact with Europeans, and the DEW (Distant Early Warning) Line[6] construction in 1954 in the area, Iglulingmiut held to their subsistence lifestyle and a social system rooted in tradition until the mid-1950s. During the 1960s, the Government's involvement in the area grew and its rental housing scheme "brought social revolution and the end of an era" (Crowe, 1970, p. 84). While there were still camps and families outside the settlements in the Foxe Basin in the 1960s, by 1970 virtually everyone had settled in one of two communities, Iglook or Hall Beach. Some eagerly moved to the permanent communities, others had little choice. Rigby et al. (2000) describes how "the Inuit became wards of the state living in an unfamiliar and an artificial social environment" (p. 100). The whole society began to lead a life that was very different from that of their ancestors. This change can be seen, for example, in the replacement of dog teams by snow machines. From their first appearance in Foxe Basin in 1963, snow machines rapidly replaced dog teams. In 1965 there were 47 dog teams in the camps and 21 at Igloolik and Hall Beach.

By 1987 there were no more than five dog teams and these were rarely used for hunting (Rasing, 1994, p. 165). In 2001 there were about four dog teams in Igloolik, primarily used for guiding visiting sports polar bear hunters. During my fieldwork, the Igloolik Hunters and Trappers Association (HTA) argued that the regulation reserving such hunting to dog teams limited the range of people who could have guiding work and should be revoked. But such a change might bring to an end hunting with dog teams[7].

Following this outline of history and social change, the next section focuses on the introduction of the Western model of schooling and its social and cultural impact.

**Education**

> The only thing is that, before Inuit were controlled by the white people girls were looked after by their mother more so than they are today as they grew and able to do things. As for the boys at the time when people had to depend on subsistence hunting for their survival, they were looked after by their father, this was the time before schools were created, hunting was essential and the boys were looked after by their father so that they were trained properly that they could do things on their own. (Piugaattuk, 1992)

When Iglulingmiut existed chiefly as semi-nomadic hunter-gathers, they had their own educational system. Their ways of learning, transfer of knowledge and training addressed the needs of their natural and social environment; the practical and social

skills were necessary to become a 'person', an Inuk. Gradually, however, in a history echoing that of Alaska, 'the white people' began to impose their education system, and their values, on the Inuit. Schools and missionaries facilitated this assimilation process and contributed to the alienation of indigenous cultures. Prior to the introduction of a 'day school' system in 1960, the children of Catholic Iglulingmiut families, some as young as four years old, were educated at the missionary residential school at Chesterfield Inlet, about 770km south west from Igloolik (Rasing, 1994, p. 152). For ten months of the year, sometimes for years, children were separated from their parents, family, and from the whole context of Inuit culture (Duffy, 1988; International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2000). One Igloolik person described the experience to me:

> I was sent to a boarding school in Chesterfield Inlet. It was hard to speak English as I didn't know any words to begin with. But teachers were strict and the students had to use English at school. I managed to keep the language [Inuktitut] as I used it with my sisters and brothers behind the scene. A lot of whispering was going on. [laughter] (Fieldnotes, 23/05/02)

The effects of this enforced separation became evident when the children returned home or visited their family during school holidays[8]. What they learnt at school was of little immediate use at home, and some had become so used to speaking English at school that they had difficulties in communicating with their parents. Rasing (1994) cited RCMP reports of 1965-67 describing how boys returning to

Igloolik from boarding school did not know how to hunt or had lost interest in hunting (p. 169). The police also reported many teenagers loitering around the settlement.

Schools not only physically removed children from their culture, but also inculcated Euro-Canadian values, which conflicted with those of their parents:

> The boarding school education had created a class of younger Iglulingmiut who no longer fitted into, or wanted to be fit into, the world of their parents. (Rasing, 1994, pp. 190-191)

Brody (1983) also claims that:

> Shift in the responsibility for education away from parents towards an essentially foreign institution has done what it can only do – create nervousness about the future and weakness in the present. (p. 210)

One informant described the difficulty of recovering a culture that had been alienated by the boarding school experience:

> TT: It was no problem to get back in [to Igloolik society when you returned from boarding school]?
> UJ: It was a problem at first, still a problem to date. The mentality that we acquired from boarding school is quite different from Inuk mentality...It was only seven years I lost. But it was totally lost. They tried to wipe it out for the seven years. Some of them [who attended boarding school]

> re-learnt our culture. But some of them never learnt...some of them never did that. (May 15 2002)

The opening of a day school in Igloolik in 1960 proved a strong 'pull', drawing families from hunting camps into the community. Children were no longer separated from their community, unless parents preferred a Catholic school[9], but the culturally negative impact of schooling was inescapable. English continued to be the language of instruction in school. Teachers understood little of Inuit culture or language (Brody, 1983; Shephard & Rode, 1996; Tompkins, 1998). The curriculum reflected little of, or even actively suppressed, Inuit culture (Rigby et al., 2000, p. 100). Many students did not do well in such an environment. Children went to school at times when traditionally they would have been out on the land. As a result, they did not learn sophisticated land-based life skills. Moreover, the generation who had been 'acculturated' at residential school influenced their siblings (Rasing, 1994). Rasing (1994) suggests that formal education was fundamentally at odds with Iglulingmiut socialisation and that the result was that individuals became less self-controlled (p. 210). Many elders were equally sceptical about formal education, which they saw as teaching the wrong attitudes.

In some Inuit communities, the introduction of day schools led to English replacing Inuktitut as the dominant language (Condon, 1997; Duffy, 1988; Natural Resources Canada, n.d.). Television reinforced this trend. Nonetheless it is worth noting that language substitution did not happen in Igloolik. Inuktitut has continued to be used

at home and socially, though in my discussions with elders they claimed that young people did not know 'proper' Inuktitut.

Recognition of the need to promote Inuit culture in schools emerged gradually in the 1970s. A government initiative to develop a culturally appropriate curriculum (called *Inuuqatigiit*) for Inuit children was completed in 1996. The *Inuuqatigiit* curriculum was to incorporate Inuit values and perspectives into schooling. In addition to this curriculum, elders are sometimes called on to demonstrate traditional skills and local people are hired for school outings to teach land-skills to students. However my fieldwork suggested that recently the involvement of elders in school outings has become complicated as a result of concerns over liability. Whereas previously there was a tacit understanding that in real situations on the land accidents are unfortunately not completely avoidable, the School Board's 'Risk Management' procedures now require that liability insurance be acquired for all land trips sponsored by the region's schools. In 2003, the school in Igloolik had three local Inuit guides covered by insurance, but should they be unavailable for any reason, they cannot easily be replaced by uninsured substitutes (there being no insurance agents in town, not all families having phones, and English skills of most elders being limited) and the planned outings have to be cancelled or postponed.

Such regulations, though informed by laudable concerns about safety, impinge on the immediacy and authentic characteristics of the organisation and implementation of

land trips. John MacDonald (personal communication, 15 Oct & 30 Nov 2003), who is a coordinator of the Igloolik Research Centre and one of my key informants, points out that there is something inherently incongruent about liability insurance being a requirement for the formal transmission of Inuit cultural skills and cites this as another example (along with the registration and insuring of all-terrain vehicles) of the encroachment of western litigious imperatives on Inuit society.

The radical changes in lifestyle associated with the move from semi-nomadic camp life to settlement life began less than 40 years ago. Today Iglulingmiut live in a society in transition, still trying to cope with the changes that have seen the development of a community of people with very different life experiences.

**Contemporary 'Traditional' Igloolik**

In the 21st century, Igloolik has been known as 'the traditional' community in Nunavut. What are the indicators of this 'traditionalness'? The use of the native language is a strong indicator of cultural retention, especially among minority peoples such as the Inuit in Canada. According to the Nunavut Government, 70% of Nunavut residents speak Inuktitut as their first language (Office of the Languages Commissioner of Nunavut, 2002). In Igloolik, I found that virtually all Inuit residents spoke the language fluently. Most people under 50 years old were bi-lingual, albeit with varied degrees of English fluency even amongst young people.

Those who had grown up in outpost camps tended to speak less English, while most elders did not use English at all.

Involvement in subsistence activities might be another indicator. Most Igloolik households (84%) regularly participated in harvesting. People caught seals, walruses, whales, caribou, fish, birds and bears, and shared the 'land food' in the community (RT & Associates, 2002). My fieldwork suggested that, while only a few dozen people's hunting activities were intensive (in terms of frequency and hunting period) and extensive (in terms of numbers, kinds of species and areas covered), most men and women could and did hunt, harvest and catch fish, especially in spring. Evidence regarding the involvement of young people in these subsistence activities is contradictory, however, and requires further research.

The retained sewing skills and other cultural knowledge in the community might also be taken as an indicator of 'traditionalness'. Fur clothing, for example, is crucial for everyone in cold weather. Babies and small children are still carried in their parent's[10] or older sibling's *amauti,* a traditional parka which is designed for the purpose. These can be made because the skills necessary for their manufacture have been retained. The film *Atanarjuat* provides another example of cultural knowledge. The film was based on a legend that has been passed down by Iglulingmiut storytellers and many young people told me that they knew the story[11].

Above all, what made Igloolik 'traditional' was people's attitude and willingness to engage in maintaining this 'traditionalness' and a wariness about exposure to powerful non-Inuit values. Community members, for example, long debated about whether or not to receive TV channels in Igloolik and it was not until 1983 that programmes were offered in Inuktitut and finally Igloolik started to receive broadcasts via satellite. There were also a number of cultural events and projects such as a sewing classes and the *Qaggiq*[12] (The Return of the Sun) celebration. However these are new, externally funded, initiatives aimed at promoting Igloolik culture and, it was suspected, might not survive if funding ceased. Thus, Wachowich (2001) and Rasing (1994) claim the reputation of Igloolik as 'the traditional community' was part of the active construction of identity.

In addition to 'traditionalness', there are other issues characteristic of contemporary Igloolik which are common among other small communities in Nunavut and, to some extent, other Arctic regions. These are discussed below.

**Social and Economic Issues**

Most Nunavut communities suffer from a range of social problems such as high unemployment, substance abuse, suicide and increasing crime rates. Though no exception, a number of informants noted that Igloolik was 'not as bad as some other places'. Nonetheless, many Iglulingmiut claimed that 70-80% of the residents were

regular drug users, and young people talked about suicides or suicide attempts of relatives, friends or themselves.

The Igloolik economy consists of subsistence hunting, selling renewable resources such as seal skins, local wage employment including government jobs, and cottage industries such as carving and sewing. In 1999 the unemployment rate was 41% (RT & Associates, 2002) and, according to an estimate given to me by an officer of the Hamlet Office, 65% of adults in Igloolik were on income support. Education and qualifications are supposed to provide better prospects of higher paying jobs, but in 1999 most (72%) of the Igloolik labour force did not have a high school qualification (RT & Associates, 2002). As a result, not only does unemployment remain high among Iglulingumiut, but also they have fewer opportunities. Posts in teaching, the RCMP, and nursing and store management tend to be filled by *Qallunaat* (white people), despite the Nunavut Government's intention to have the nation administered mostly by Inuit.

## The Programme - 'Paariaqtuqtut'

The programme I studied was called 'Paariaqtuqtut', meaning 'meeting on the trail'. The programme was organised by a group of Inuit elders in Igloolik, the Inullariit Society[13], who ran various projects over the past 10 years or more as part of a 'land-skills training course'. My study involved interviewing Paariaqtuqtut participants and examining documents from other programmes organised by the Inullariit Society over the years. This helped in understanding Paariaqtuqtut in the context of the organisers' intention and approaches.

### Organisers – The Inullariit Society

From 1960 Igloolik was growing rapidly, and concerns about the consequences of this growth began to be expressed. Informants in Igloolik talked of individuals making conscious attempts to teach young people 'land-skills' and 'land norms'. Although some informants had been involved in these efforts, they could not provide precise dates, saying only that they began 'quite some time ago'.

Better organised and publicised initiatives began in the mid-1980s, as some people attempted to counter the continuing problems wrought by radical lifestyle changes. These initiatives, which were formally approved by about 30 elders, included the oral history project[14] and a 'land-skills training course' - camps where young people learned how to live off the land.

To secure continuing funding for such projects, the group sought and acquired officially authorized status. In December 1993 the 'Inullariit', commonly known as 'the Inullariit Society' (IS), was established as a not-for-profit entity whose stated objective was "to preserve and promote Inuit culture, language, heritage and traditional values" (IS file, 1993-1998). The IS has eight elected directors and, nominally, all Inuit in Igloolik over 54 years old[15] are members. In addition to seeking external financial support, the society funds itself by leasing out their building in Igloolik. The Igloolik Research Centre also supports the IS by providing space for meetings and document storage, as well as for administrative work and fundraising.

**The Land-Skills Training Regular Programmes**

The IS offers a variety of land-skills training programmes throughout the year, depending on funding availability. An example of this variety is shown in Table 8.1, and this shows that the 'Paariaqtuqtut' I observed was an irregular project. In this section, I present an overview of the Inullariit Society's land-skills courses and explore the framework of their usual programmes.

Table 8.1 Land-skill courses of the Inullariit Society

| Season | Month | Themes and names | Approximate number of participants |
|---|---|---|---|
| Spring | June | Seal: Nattirasuk | 24 (12 females and 12 males) |
| Summer | July | Walrus: Sammung | 8 (2 usually males students/ boat x 4 boats) |
| | August | Caribou: Tuktuliaq | 24 (12 females and 12 males) |
| Winter | Nov - Jan | Winter land-skills | As many as instructors (1:1 mentorship. Male only) |
| All year round | | Sewing in the community | |

The programme content and details were decided by the IS's directors. The local radio station advertised programmes and sought applications from young people interested in participating. The courses were principally for young Inuit living in Igloolik and, although there is no specified age range, most participants were in their mid-teens to early 20s. Inullariit usually received many more applications than available places and, therefore, they have selection procedures that favour participants who would not have had a chance to experience land-skills under normal circumstance. Those who dropped out of school and/or who have social problems were given priority. Inuit people were given priority but young white people may also participate. To date, however, no white person has applied for the courses with the exception of the sewing classes.

Instructors were also selected by the society. They were usually elders who were experienced in living on the land, knowledgeable about traditional skills and cultural norms, and willing to teach and to act as role models for young Inuit. Instructors

were often chosen as a couple (husband and a wife), but it was also usual for a male 'official' instructor to bring his wife along. Pre-programme meetings with instructors ensured that they knew what to teach the young Inuit. Teaching topics included: navigation, place names, how to stalk caribou or seals, the recognition of danger, safety of firearms, vehicle management, loading sleds, snow formation, weather prediction, information that clouds could provide, reading stars, etc.

The programme was held at a hunting or camping ground that Iglulingmiut had used for generations. These were reached by boat in summer and by snow machines in winter. Each instructor or instructors would be responsible for two to three young people[16], living in the same tent and acting as one unit, throughout the course. Each unit was functionally independent. There were no day-to-day schedules, and once the framework and guidelines were distributed, it was up to each unit to decide what to do. The round of daily activities relied on the elders' knowledge and experience of the weather, people's condition, gear preparation and the learning needs of the particular students. It was also the elders who decided when to go hunting or fishing, mend gear and prepare food. Traditional knowledge and land-skills were seamlessly woven into this daily routine.

Everyone in the unit shared the chores, the sharing also serving as a vehicle to pass on life skills and values to the young people. During the course the students and elders formed a 'pseudo family' and there were times when several units would get

together for an activity, in a close simulation of 'traditional life' where camping and movement was conducted by an extended family unit. This coming together also replicated the way in which knowledge and values were traditionally passed down. Sometimes the elders did not manage to teach everything on the expectation list and of course students did not all learn the same things, but this was the Iglulingmiut way of learning and teaching. As in the past, young people would be expected to increase their knowledge over many seasons by repeating the same things under different conditions.

A report of Tuktuliaq 2000, a programme centred around caribou, stated that students had engaged in a variety of activities including:

> ...camping preparation, camp set-up, canoe handling and navigation (in fog), firearms safety, caribou hunting, butchering, skin preparation, skin drying, meat drying, seal hunting, fishing, cooking skills, skin sewing skills, learning Inuktitut place names and local history, and traditional Inuit games such as *anauligaaq* and *attaujag*. (Inullariit Society, 2001)

Again, this did not mean that everyone participated in everything. Students' essays reveal the different experiences across the groups. Generally, boys and girls engaged in separate activities with male and female elders respectively. One girl, for example, reported that her unit had forgotten a tent and food. Though she did not explain how the problem was solved, this shows the extent to which each unit

was considered independent. There was no central command or a camp manager to look after the logistics.

**Paariaqtuqtut**

Paariaqtuqtut was the first programme in which the IS involved other communities. The land between Igloolik and Repulse Bay, about 400km south of Igloolik, had been well travelled for generations by many Inuit and the Igloolik elders had used the route when they were younger. Paariaqtuqtut intended that groups of elders and youths from each community would meet at Nagvaak, a traditional camping site approximately halfway between the two communities, to celebrate their historic and family links, and their attachment to the land, by hunting caribou and fishing in the local area (J. MacDonald, personal communication, 14 Nov 2001). This meant more than 'training' for young people, and in fact led to many unique developments, which will be discussed later in this section. Paariaqtuqtut unfolded in a way that was usual for Iglulingmiut, but that might be surprising to western programme coordinators, used to doing things according to a plan. Figure 8.4 shows a rough route of the journey between Igloolik and Nagvaak.

Figure 8.4 A route between Igloolik and Nagvaak during Paariaqtuqtut (constructed from two maps)


(Source: Canada. Department of Energy, Mines and Resources)

**Paariaqtuqtut: Participants**

The land-skills course Paariaqtuqtut was organised jointly with elders in Repulse Bay, but the overall approach remained the same. The Society secured funding, details were discussed among the Inullariit directors and the elders of Repulse Bay, and the radio announced the programme. What was different was that there were far fewer applicants than usual and, therefore, a selection process was not needed. Twelve participants (three female, nine male) from Igloolik were registered, along with six male instructors. Arsene Ivalu, president of Inullariit, said that as Paariaqtuqtut was their first attempt to involve another community, they had wanted not to involve much younger participants to keep the accountability level manageable. In the event, however, the participants' ages ranged from 17 to 31 years old, instead of mid-teens to early 20s as planned. Half of the participants had previous experience of the Society's courses.

Repulse Bay apparently had a much harder time recruiting the participants. On the day before the start of the programme, they had only four young people. According to Thoretta (Terry) Iyerak of the Igloolik Research Centre, who also served as a secretary to the Inullariit Society, Paariaqtuqtut was competing with other programmes such as the Arctic College's carpentry and administrative work training courses. These courses were more attractive because the students were paid to attend. It has been a common practice in many places in the Arctic to pay local

people to attend some training courses, in the hope that this might help mitigate social problems by encouraging them to take up more vocational training, which might lead to future employment. In fact, until 2001 the IS had paid an allowance of CAN$150 to participants on some courses. This was intended to help the young people, many of whom did not have paid jobs, to buy some necessary gear and/or extra food. According to John MacDonald the practice had stopped because some of the young people came for the wrong reasons. During the camp, I heard a few participants complain that they were not given allowances.

Though only six men were official instructors, they brought along their wives and extended family members, including small children. Some of the students also brought their young children. They formed 'one unit' together with their respective instructor and his family. Like any other course, each unit was expected to spend time together during the course. The wives also served as teachers, especially for female participants. The elders instructed and taught everyone who was with them. Consequently, there was hardly any difference between the 'official students' and those who just came along. The difference in their activities and the way they were dealt with was dependent not on their status as participants, but on age and willingness to participate.

A total of 66 people from three communities gathered at Nagvaak, plus several people who happened to stop by while travelling. Around 40 people came from

Igloolik. A cameraman and an assistant from the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) were also there to film the event[17]. They too were Inuuk from Igloolik and, in fact, I was the only non-Inuk at Nagvaak. About one third of the company were females and, according to Inullariit, there were 14 people over 60 - the oldest had his 76th birthday at the site. The youngest person, the son of a registered participant from Igloolik, was nine months old. Overall, the group seemed to have a reasonable mixture of ages, and there was an atmosphere of family gatherings as a whole. More than 20 snow machines, pulling sleds or sled-houses (see Plate 8.1), transported the group to Nagvaak and, once there, 14 canvas tents and some igloos were built.

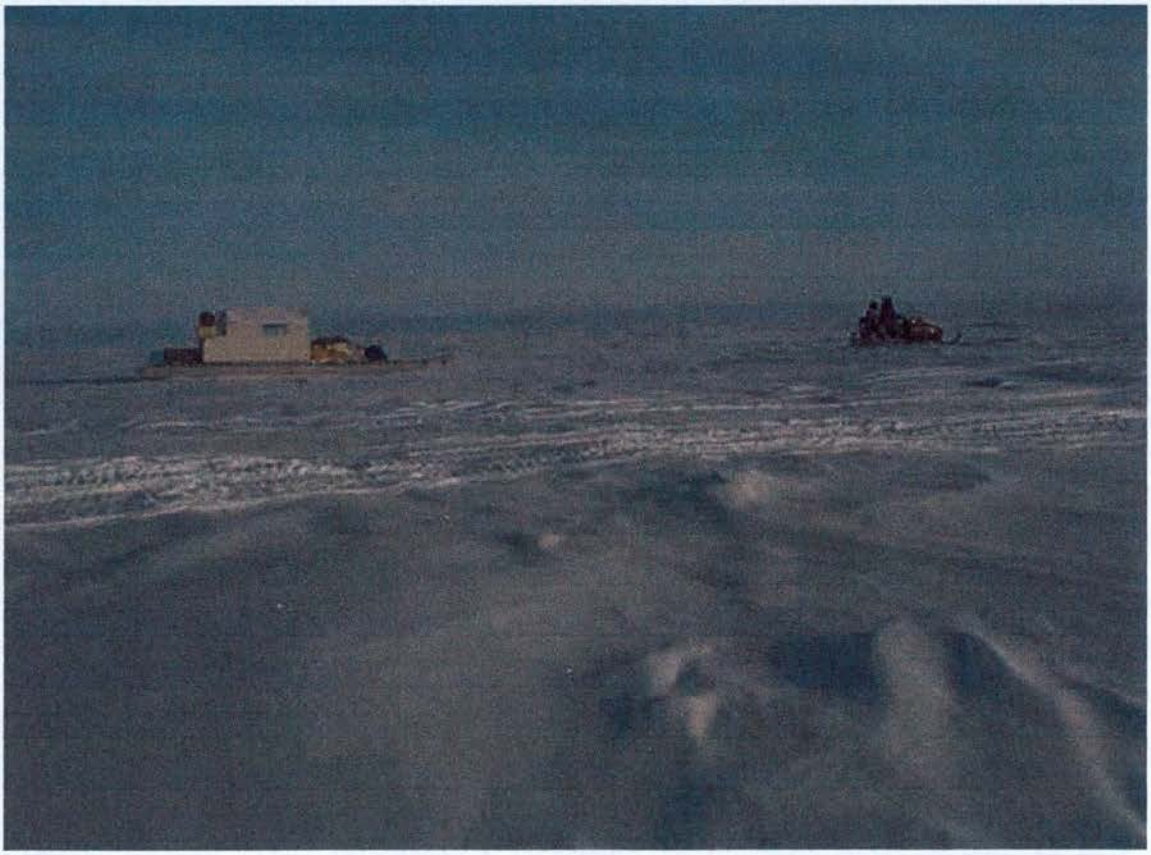


Plate 8.1 A snow machine pulls a sled-house on the way to Nagvaak (By courtesy of Inullariit Society)

**Paariaqtuqtut: A Journey and Learning**

This section outlines the programme and describes some events that will help readers understand the programme's rationale and give them a sense of the journey. It will also provide insights into what is involved in being on the land. Individuals are referred to by their Igloolik names, unless cited as an author or authors.

My journey to Igloolik involved a scheduled flight from Ottawa to Iqaluit, the capital of Nunavut. At Iqaluit, I transferred to a smaller aircraft for the trip to Igloolik. When I arrived, on 29 April 2002, the air was dry and the temperature was around -15℃. The reflection of the sun on snow was glaring and irritating to the eyes. There was a huge *inukshugaq*[18] near the airport set against the backdrop of a transparent blue sky. John MacDonald, a Scot, met me at the airport. The research centre offered me accommodation in their 'bunkhouse' and a space to work. The centre, sometimes called 'a lab', was a giant mushroom-shaped white building, which had hosted many researchers in the past. John had lived in Igloolik since 1985 and had acquired significant knowledge of many aspects of the Inuit world, including the Inuktitut language. At the centre I met two workers, Thoretta Iyerak and Maurice (Mo) Arnatsiaq, who helped my research in many ways.

John told me that I would be with Mo during the Paariaqtuqtut trip. John and his wife Carolyn kitted me out with jackets, mitts, overtrousers, boots, etc. In the end, I was equipped with more clothing for this 10-14 day trip in temperatures around -

20℃ than I had been when I spent over four months on moving ice, crossing the Arctic Ocean where the coldest temperature was -50℃. It made sense, however, as I would be driving a snow machine instead of pulling a sled myself or running with dogs. I would need much warmer clothing because I would not generate heat myself and would face a constant head wind. I had to be prepared for the worst eventuality such as a machine breaking down when I was alone on the tundra. This was the nature of the trip that we were embarking on. The Paariaqtuqtu began three days after my arrival in Igloolik.

Many anthropologists agree that flexibility and opportunism have always been essential to the traditional life of the Inuit (Condon, 1997, p. 40). This was certainly true of the Paariaqtuqtut; it was in the very nature of the journey. There was a rough indication of the timing of the programme, but the actual departure date was dependent on the weather and the condition of the terrain. Neither John nor Terry could tell me how long the journey would last. When asked by John, Terry said that she *heard* someone had to be back on 9 May and that they might begin the return trip on 8 May. This meant that the trip would last only a week. In fact, when later I asked the course participants about any plans for activities and the duration of the trip, they answered that they did not know. Someone said he heard it would be for two weeks. It might seem odd that someone would join in a trip of such a serious nature without knowing how long it would take or what was expected of them. However, an agreed outline appeared to be sufficient for all concerned to work with.

There was also a shared understanding that everything was dictated by the weather, and other factors that were out of their control. Unlike many Western campers, given a general understanding of the objectives and of the time it might take, Iglulingmiut could happily accommodate the whole idea and respond accordingly.

On the morning of our departure, each participant went to his/her instructor's house and helped with packing and lashing the sleds. This was the beginning of their learning. Under the elders' guidance, they learnt how to pack sleds efficiently and safely. The route involved crossing slopes, lakes and rivers, and rocky land. Parts of lakes and rivers could be open and might not be completely frozen. A snow machine crossing such rough frozen terrain with a sled attached could easily overturn if the load was not properly balanced. Bad packing could lead to a loss of belongings and serious accidents, which could damage the sled, the snow machine, and, at the worst, cost human life. The balance also affected the speed of the machine, which was another safety concern. Efficient and speedy packing was also important, especially in severe weather. Frostbite on the face and frost nip on fingers was a real possibility if packing took too long. In addition to practical rope work, packing with the instructors gave the young people an opportunity to learn the art of packing a sled, which is linked to friction with the ground, speed and the capacity of the cross boards of the sled.

The weather that morning, however, was fine and I was ready beside my snow machine and sled, provided by the Igloolik Research Centre, 15 minutes before the 11am departure time. Around 12.30pm a few machines gathered on the sea ice down at the beach and departed. I followed Mo, and later his wife and family joined us. Not all units and machines started together. There was no 'commencement speech' from the Inullariit president, no explanation of the trip with everyone present, as might be expected of an outdoor educational programme in the UK. An elder who knew the route between Igloolik and Repulse Bay went ahead, and the rest more or less followed his tracks. The separation between machines and units became greater as some machines had mechanical trouble and stops were made for inspection and/or repairs. Again, this might appear chaotic to an outdoor practitioner used to travelling as a group, but this format was well-established among the Inuit. Brody (1987) describes how, when hunting:

> Each hunter looks by himself, but the findings are shouted out loud...They watch where he goes, and then, one by one, respond by choosing a direction of their own. No one organizes the overall collectivity of the hunt. But no one moves without reference to an understanding of what others are doing. There is no explicit system, but the overall effect is systematic. (p. 119)

The terrain was relatively flat for the first day, but one should not expect to go fast over frozen ocean and snow-covered land, particularly on the snow machines pulling sleds with a full load of goods or sled houses, large boxes in which families and

children stayed during the trip. There were two reasons why the nature of the trip dictated a slower pace. First, this was a large group including children and families, so naturally it took more time when stopping for a rest or when a snow machine needed attention. Second, the programme was intended to teach young people navigation skills and knowledge of the land. The more slowly they proceeded, the more opportunities the young people had to look around. The more they stopped, the more opportunities the instructors had to talk about the places and to share stories.

I was driving in this vast white landscape with the sun above me, and the smell of spring was carried on the wind. No wonder people were glad to be out, to feel this sense of openness and freedom and the casualness of spring. Whether on the trail or taking a rest, everyone appeared to be smiling and enjoying themselves.

As the only stranger in the group, people were curious about me and some came to talk to me on the trail. In this way, I started to get to know some participants. "Where did you come from?", a young man asked in fluent English. He recognised me as a stranger and thought I might not understand Inuktitut. Being asked to guess where I was from, he immediately said "Coppermine", a town in Nunavut about 1400km west of Igloolik, where hardly any Inuit of my age spoke Inuktitut. He was surprised to learn that I was Japanese, as were other Inuit I met. Some described me as their 'cousin', said, with a big smile, "we are relatives". They seemed to

enjoy seeing a foreigner with facial features similar to their own. I took it as a sign of friendship, being accepted as part of 'them' rather than a 'total stranger'. Brody (1983) describes the relationship between Inuit and *Qallunaat* as being often hostile, marked by distrust and an unequal distribution of power. I was not *Qallunaaq*[19]. I cannot say what this meant and how it affected my relationship with Iglulingmiut, but at least I was not identified with their negative experiences of *Qallunaat* and it is likely that this gave me an advantage in my research. There were certainly times when I felt that I had easier access to the Inuit because I looked like one of them.

At the end of the first day on the trail Mo's family and I arrived at our camp, set up on a frozen bay. Though all did not travel together, we camped at the same spot at night. It was 9pm, and still light, when I counted 13 snow machines in the camp. The area had not been chosen randomly. This was a well-established camping area that was sheltered by hills and had been used by Iglulingmiut for centuries. I later discovered that instructors had taught their students the nearby place names, where a fishing cabin was located, who owned it, where certain kinds of animals and fish were to be found and so on. I also discovered that, despite what John had said earlier, I was sharing a tent, not with Mo and his family, but with two young people from the IBC. We must have covered about 120km from Igloolik, traversing frozen ocean and tundra. Teaching and learning continued for the young people as the square-shaped sun finally went below the horizon at 10.40pm. They were instructed in camp chores such as how to arrange the interior of a tent, maintenance

of a stove and fire, and how to melt ice efficiently to make water. The young people were expected to learn observing and by doing rather by being told what to do.

The morning was slow, mainly because young people tended to sleep in, sometimes until 11am. With the IBC folk still in a deep sleep, I went outside to find out what was happening. I found elders and other adults working on their sleds and equipment. They simply stated "Young people are still sleeping". They did not appear anxious to wake them and depart. We spent two nights in this way, and arrived at Nagvaak on the third day. On the tundra I saw many *inukshugait* (plural form of *inukshugaq*), marks of human activities, that Mo said had been "standing there for a very long time". My fieldnotes from the first morning on the trail are included in Appendix 5c.

The journey to reach Nagvaak was full of learning opportunities for the young people. There were problems with some snow machines: for example, a hole appeared in the piston of one machine and it had to be repaired on site; one of the young people fixed it using a dime coin to cover the hole. This not only provided learning opportunities, but also demonstrated once more the Inuit capacity for improvisation, a vital survival skill.

On another occasion the front group spotted four caribou on a hill a kilometre in front of us and stopped the groups following behind. After a while a man started his machine towards the caribou. He did not go fast. When he got close to the herd, the caribou turned, all at once, and started to run. Then the man stopped. The caribou stopped, looked back at the hunter, and eventually turned back toward where they had been. The man started again, this time towards the right of the herd, and they moved again. From a distance it was as if fallen leaves were turning when the caribou with their antlers changed direction. Finally, there was the sound of a gunshot and a caribou fell on its front legs and just sat down. As everyone watched, another man started his machine and shot a second caribou. This was an opportunity to learn how to hunt; the way the hunter approached and the way caribou responded. The hunter, with many stops and zigzags, slowly narrowed the distance to the caribou. He knew which tactics to deploy in order not to scare them off.

People gathered around the caribou and helped themselves to the meat. Children watched the skinning, the order in which parts of the caribou went to different people (e.g. female elders were first given the marrow) and the manner in which people behaved. They also watched some of the young adults eat *qumait*, the beige-coloured hard larvae of warble flies living beneath the caribou skin, which, it was claimed, were a good source of protein.

Shortly after our arrival at Nagvaak, the party from Repulse Bay arrived. This was a moment for celebration. Following a short prayer on site, an Igloolik elder made a brief announcement to the group from Repulse Bay, saying they had food to share. In the meantime, Paniaq, one of the veteran Inullariit instructors, started to teach the young people how to make an igloo. He chose a place for the igloo carefully using a stick, then cut snow blocks and piled them tactically. It was critical to find a spot where the snow quality and density was fairly stable and appropriate for the length of stay. He used a large thin knife skilfully and shaped blocks efficiently into a dome shape. As he moved his arm with the knife, the shape changed magically and the wind blew off the snow, making his thick dark eyebrows white. The snow must have gone into his eyes, but he continued the demonstration without a pause. Several young men started to practise building a small igloo but with a great deal of struggle. Paniaq and his students lived in the igloo during the camp. An IBC assistant spent a night in the igloo and said "It was much warmer than [our] tent at night". Paniaq told stories every night in their igloo and the young people thought him a great storyteller. They told me one of Paniaq's stories of the time of hunger when some people had to eat human bodies.

Like any other Inullariit programmes, there was no fixed, agreed schedule for the course. The instructors seemed to know which elements they should be covering, but things could change, with additional elements taken on board as the situation demanded. As mentioned earlier, the learning opportunities and coverage were not

the same for everyone. One girl, for example, whose tent had an oil lamp, learnt how to tend the fire. Another had brought her nine-month-old son and only she learnt how to take care of the baby under conditions below -20℃ without electricity or running water. She said "I couldn't bring my baby from back to front in an *amauti* like this. I tried first time here in the camp, taught by Madeline [wife of Ivalu]" (Fieldnotes, 07/05/02).

Around noon on the next day, Sunday, some adults started to work with snow in the middle of the camp, saying "We are going to build a church". For two hours everyone, including small children, was engaged in building a large semi-circular wall and a layer inside to sit on. It was a physically demanding task, but there was a good sense of teamwork, with much laughter and joking. Older adults directed the work, young people worked and children helped. The 'church' was built to provide shelter from the prevailing wind as Ivalu, president of Inullariit, later explained:

> That's the traditional thing to get away from wind so that people won't get too cold when they gather around, not moving too much. It was 52 feet long. It was the first step to start teaching young people how to work on snow, how to build a shelter, and also it is traditional to do it that way with so many people. (15 May 2002)

People sat inside on caribou skin, with elders and adults seated first. The 'Paariaqtuqtut' opening ceremony was held in the 'church' (Plate 8.2). A number of

speeches were made. It became very emotional, and many started to cry and hug each other. Some talked about their deceased loved ones, some of whom had killed themselves. One of the stories, which a number of people later shared with me, came from a Repulse Bay man. He had travelled on foot over the entire area between Repulse Bay and Igloolik when he was younger, and he knew the land well.

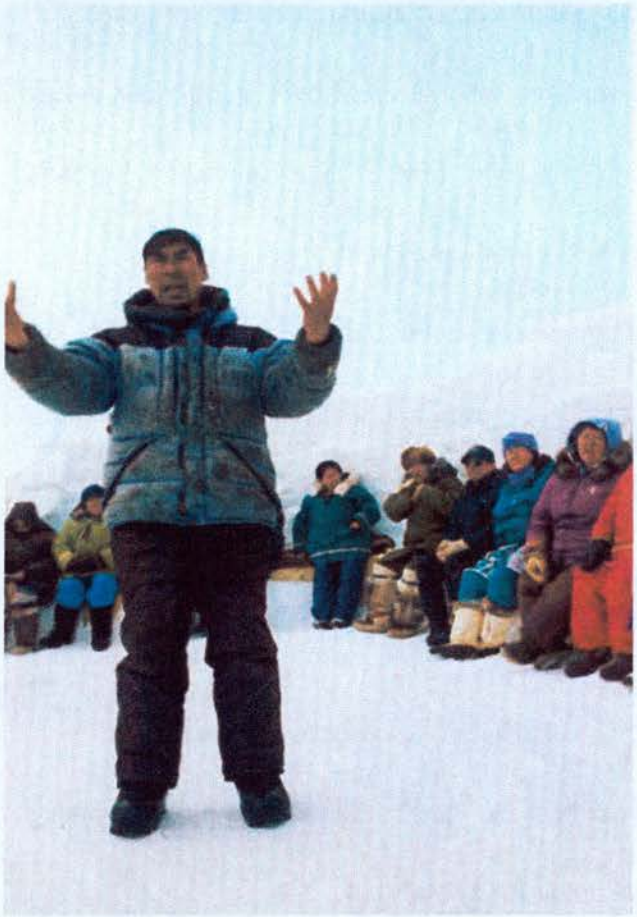


Plate 8.2 Ivalu speaks during the opening ceremony in the 'church'

Those who told me about the story added their comments as follows:

> You see in the old days how hard it must have been. The man walked everywhere, can you imagine? It would have been so hard. (Fieldnotes, 05/05/02)

> They said people put up with those hard days, and that is why we are here now. Unless they survived, the following generations would not have been here. (Fieldnotes, 05/05/02)

Similar stories seemed to have been shared and these reinforced the impression that they were here thanks to the ancestors' strength and wisdom in coping with the hard days. After the ceremony, which lasted about two and half hours, people had a cup of tea in their own tents, and assembled again for a 'feast'. They gathered the 'land food' or 'country food' which they had brought; game or fish that Inuit have traditionally eaten in the area. Elders and adults sliced and prepared them using one sled as a table. Elders went around first. They stabbed what they wanted with a knife to carry back to their own place. Then they placed them on cardboard to slice them into pieces to eat. Some examples of land food were: fermented fish (*qasarraq*, trout or arctic char), fermented walrus (*igunaq*), the edible skin from beluga (*maktaaq*), edible skin from bowhead whale (*maktak*), narwhal (*tugaalik*), arctic char (*iqaluk*), caribou (*tuktu*), polar bear (*nanuq*). Some young people had never before tried some of the food offered at the feast.

On the second morning at Nagvaak, most of the people seemed surprised to learn that the Repulse Bay party had decided to leave the following day. Some said this was because the oldest person from the community needed to get back for medical reasons, and others that the Governor General of Canada was to make her first visit

to Repulse Bay and people wanted to be there for the special occasion. At the same time, some had heard that other people from Igloolik might join them to travel to Repulse Bay. No one seemed to be sure of the situation.

During the day, another gathering was held at the 'church' and an announcement made about planned activities including caribou hunting, fishing, making *inukshugaq* and playing traditional games. Later a few groups went off caribou hunting while others were ice fishing. Most of those remaining set to building a giant *inukshugaq* in memory of this historical gathering. None of these were easy tasks, and all involved extraordinary patience, knowledge and stamina. At night, the young people played traditional games, under the elders' instruction, which continued until 1am. The story of an ice-fishing trip that I joined later at Nagvaak helps explain what was involved in some of these activities (Appendix 5d).

On the third day, people left for Repulse Bay. Quite a few from Igloolik also went, including three instructors and three participants. Only 19 people, including small children, remained at Nagvaak. Among them there were three instructors and eight participants, four of whom had lost their initial instructors. This was not how I had expected the programme to develop and gave the impression that the project was suddenly interrupted before I saw much of the actual teaching. However, none of the young people I talked to thought it was strange or unacceptable that people from Repulse Bay had left so soon, or that many of the Iglulingmiut joined them. One

participant later said she was surprised to learn that she was also going to Repulse Bay, but saw nothing strange about the move. Ivalu later said that all along two instructors had intended to travel to Repulse Bay but that the third instructor decided to accompany them and Ivalu was not too happy about this because his students were left behind.

When more than two thirds of the campers had gone, it became much quieter, and the young people who remained in Nagvaak started to talk about homesickness. Young people spent more time in our tent, talking, instead of being active outside, though they were still doing some ice fishing and igloo making. Thinking that the course might have finished, and wanting to ration my food, I asked Ivalu when he planned to depart to Igloolik. His quiet reply to me after a pause was unexpected: "Are you homesick?" When I answered "No", he calmly said that "If it is OK with you, we are in no hurry".

I realised the course was not yet over. The whole group was not together, the units of instructors and students had to be reorganised and the learning venue was not necessarily around Nagvaak, but the learning was to continue no matter where we were. Those who went to Repulse Bay continued learning along the way. Some reported later that they hunted along the way and the elders taught them some place names. They must have had opportunities to pack and lash the sleds too. Teaching and learning became a part of their life on the land instead of based on a consciously

planned curriculum. However, once they got to Repulse Bay they reportedly spent time indoors, visiting and watching videos. After everyone returned to Igloolik, one participant who went to Repulse Bay told me that he was surprised that those who remained in Nagvaak left the camp so quickly to go back to Igloolik. "Did they become homesick or what? I did not expect that to happen", he said angrily. He had expected to join the whole group again on the way back from Repulse Bay for continuing 'Paariaqtuqtut'. This also shows that no one, except perhaps myself, thought the programme was interrupted or finished when many left Nagvaak for Repulse Bay. I realised that was *my* perception not theirs.

On the day after I had asked Ivalu about the departure, one participant came into our tent and said "We are going back tomorrow" with a big smile on his face. The main reason was that one of the elders had lost medicine on the way to Nagvaak several days ago and he wanted to go back to where he thought he had lost it. Assessing the overall situation, they altered their initial plan to take another historical route, which would have provided the young people with more opportunity to see a different part of the land, and returned the way they had come.

There were a few incidents on the trail back to Igloolik, including Ivalu's machine breaking down. As a result, it had to be placed on one of the sleds to be towed, but it subsequently tripped over on ice. The machine was damaged slightly, but luckily no one was hurt. Though this was an organised programme, the environment was

not controlled or 'set up'. Young people were meant to learn everything in a real situation. Accidents would also happen when young people would be on the trail on their own in the future, and such experiences would help them become capable of dealing with a variety of problems. The group returned to Igloolik after 10 days and most of those who had travelled to Repulse Bay returned a few days later.

**Summary of the Journey**

This 'land-skills training course' was not tightly scheduled in the way that Western outdoor educators might expect. Most of the young people who had had previous experience of Inullariit courses said that the Paariaqtuqtut was very different from other courses. They said that programmes usually focused more on skills and passing on knowledge. They also claimed to have 'learnt more' on these programmes. The participants' essays from the past courses also suggested that they had more practical outcomes such as harvests or *kamiik* they had sewed. However, as I have said, I observed many learning opportunities on the Paariaqtuqtut.

The programme was very flexible and did not enforce boundaries of time or place. Teaching and learning continued as long as they were on the trail. The structure of the course, including the 'unit' system, was also very flexible and could be adapted to suit the circumstances. Consequently the duration of the programme was also flexible. The style of instruction was not directive and usually it relied on the

students' eagerness to learn. Therefore learning opportunities and contents varied among participants. Learning mostly happened in a natural flow in a real setting, instead of at a designated time, in a prescribed manner, using specified tools.

There were no compartmentalised 'lesson times'. Subjects were not separated and categorised. In hunting, for example, the following elements were all integrated and needed to be learnt: navigation, landmarks, weather prediction, animal behaviour, culturally proper treatment of animals, safety of firearms, handling knives and hunting techniques. Collective events such as 'church building', a feast, *inukshugaq* building, or even when caribou were shot, conveyed cultural norms and values without being explicit. Being in the place that had actually been used by their ancestors was another factor connecting them directly with their heritage.

## Rationale of the Land-Skills Training Courses

In this section I first explain whose accounts I use to explore the rationale of the land-skills training courses. This includes discussion of the position of the IS in the Igloolik community in order to explore how representative it is. As the official objective was to promote and preserve Inuit culture, I sought to determine what was considered an appropriate background against which to organise courses. I will examine which elements of the culture the IS wanted to pass on and why. Finally, the meaning of preserving and promoting Inuit culture and its relationship with 'being on the land' will be explored.

### Whose Rationale?

As explained earlier, everyone over 54 years old was nominally a member of the Inullariit Society; some 7% of the community (n=95) according to the 2001 Census. With no official membership registration, it is difficult to estimate the level of active support for the Society. However, about 20 to 30 individuals, typically aged over 60, attended the annual meeting and voted for the Society's directors (MacDonald, Personal communication, 29 April 2003). The number may seem small, but in fact it is virtually everyone over 60 years old. As the opportunities to talk with people were limited, I cannot determine the representativeness of my sample. In relation to connection with the land, however, the IS values seemed to correspond strongly with those expressed by those I spoke to in Igloolik. There was, it seemed, a tacit

agreement and understanding that the IS represents the community as a whole with regard to culture and traditional values. Hardly anyone seemed to call into question an effort to keep culture as it was. Most adult community members I spoke to in Igloolik used the term 'we', when referring to what the IS tried to achieve. This was a strong indicator that people saw the IS as representing them on many of the issues including subsistence, culture, language and tradition. John MacDonald claimed that "the Society in many ways does speak for the Igloolik elders in particular and for the community in general, especially on matters to do with language, culture, and Inuit traditional values and skills" (personal communication, 29 April 2003).

In order to explore the rationale of the land-skills courses, I analysed accounts not only from the IS directors, but also from Paariaqtuqtut instructors and others who had worked on courses. Conversations with other community members, those I had during the camp and documents from previous courses also contributed to the analysis.

I interviewed President Ivalu four days after we returned from the Paariaqtuqtut with Thoretta Iyerak acting as interpreter. The interview with the vice president of the IS, Louis Illupalik, was conducted directly in English. He had learnt English as a child while receiving hospital treatment in the south. Nathan Qmaniq, 70 years old, was the oldest and most experienced instructor during Paariaqtuqtut. The interview with

Qmaniq was done in Igloolik with Iyerak acting as interpreter. I also had a chance to talk with Madeline Ivalu during the camp with the translation assistance of the young people around. She served as an instructor on several training courses.

There were three important informants who were in their 40s and had been involved in the IS's courses: Louis Tapardjuk, Theo Ikummaq and Thoretta Iyerak. They all spoke English fluently and sometimes eloquently. They had experience of attending a residential school away from home during their childhood. They understood both the world of traditional Inuit, represented by the IS, and the non-Inuit, so-called 'Western world'. They carried strong feelings of both loss and gain from the school experiences, but had learnt to formulate and present the Inuit issues embedded in their worldviews in a way that would fit the context of western arguments and thinking. These informants' interpretation and their ability to express themselves to someone with a different worldview was a significant contribution to the study.

My initial contact in Igloolik, John MacDonald, was another important informant. He worked closely with the IS, but, as he deliberately kept a distance from the organisation in terms of decision-making and planning, I did not include his accounts in analysing the rationale of the programme. He was a long-standing community member, but he stood in a unique position as *Qallunaaq* from the viewpoint of the community values, which had something to do with 'being Inuit'. However, interviews and correspondence with John helped guide me throughout the analysis.

I stated at the beginning of this section that there was a tacit understanding that the IS represented the community as a whole with regard to culture and traditional values. However, no community of some 1,300 people is completely united on any subject. Some views that differ from those of the IS are discussed later.

**Background and Objectives of the Land-Skills Courses**

The analysis was based on interview data. However, as a good deal of Inuit communication depends on body language and changes in the tone of voice, I note the manner of speaking when this conveyed a certain message.

*Preserve and Promote Inuit Culture*

The IS's stated intention was to preserve and promote Inuit culture, language, heritage and traditional values. This objective was repeated by elders in their own words and sometimes with strong emotional tone, for example:

> We don't want them to forget the way in old days. We don't want [young people] to forget how people used to do things. That's why. [A long pause, thinking] That is why the Inullariit Society organises courses. That is why. (MJ, 25 May 2002)

> [looking surprised at my question 'Why do you support the programme?'] I'm one of the old ladies and know quite a few things. There are no books and no records of what people

used to do in old days. That is why I am here. People can't learn unless they come to camp. (NJ, 9 May 2002)

*Breakdown of Traditional Mode of Knowledge Transfer*

I asked why it was necessary to organise programmes when many in the community were hunting and fishing regularly. The straight answer from elders was 'because many young people did not know land-skills'. The next question was, why so?

Drastic Change in Lifestyle

Many comments from interviews and the Igloolik Oral History Project document (filed at Igloolik Research Centre) suggested that the lifestyle change from land-based to settlement-based life had resulted in the breakdown of the traditional mode of knowledge transfer. This traditional mode of knowledge transfer was based on a community directly sustained by the land and working together with extended family members. Contemporary settlement life, with a store and various governmental assistant programmes as an alternative means of survival, made people less dependent on the land. Family members did not take their children out to the land, often due to a lack of resources, money, proper equipment and time. In this respect, IS provided an alternative way of knowledge transfer. Life in town also made people less dependent on family and/or others. An increase in the number of children per household also contributed to the situation where elders and adults did not spend much time with young people. This point is further discussed later in this chapter. Moreover, settlement life brought various attractions for young people and

many would rather stay in town with their peers than go out to the land with their families.

Schools and Governmental Failure

Some cited the introduction of schools as disturbing traditional knowledge transfer. As discussed earlier, schooling played a significant role in the process of social change, as foreign educational institutions interrupted traditional modes of learning. As a result quite a few children were unable to retain their own language or acquire the skills and knowledge necessary to live an Inuk life in the way in which their parents did. One elder commented as follows:

> TT: Why don't young people know land-skills?
> MJ: My father told me that kids go to school, that's why. My father told me he went for hunting almost everyday whenever possible because it was only way to feed family, you know. But things are different now. Now there are stores. If you have money, you can go to stores and buy food. (25 May 2002)

The perceived interruption of knowledge acquisition by school was also recorded in a number of files of the Oral History Project (Appendix 5b). The government's failure to meet people's educational needs was often implied during interviews and conversation with adults. There was clear evidence that people considered the impact of schooling on their culture to have been significant and that there was a continuing tension between school and the community.

There were families in Igloolik who often took their children out on the land. Some children had significant experiences on the land and were sufficiently equipped with land-skills. Once I went to see a second graders' school outing with Mo. Eight or nine children were ice fishing with teachers and two locals who were helping in the session. They were all well-clothed for the weather, with sealskin boots and caribou coats with ruffs. It was at a frozen lake about one and half hour's drive from town, across frozen ocean. When those children and teachers had left with a few large pink Arctic char, a 13-year-old boy remained alone, continuing to ice fish. Mo approached and the boy offered him tea and frozen fish he had caught to nibble. The machine on which he was leaning looked extra large compared to his size. In watching him take out a double Coleman stove and light it to make tea, it was apparent from the efficiency of his movements that he had done this many times.

Mo started up his snow machine and went ahead. I had trouble starting mine and Mo was gone and already out of sight. I pulled the starter repeatedly until I could not lift my arm any more. I sighed, starting to think what to do. Then I realised the boy was watching me from a distance. As he started his machine to come and help me, the engine of my machine finally caught. The boy slowed his machine, smiled and waited until I drove ahead. I found myself thinking; is this the manner of a 13-year-old? Needless to say I was impressed. In Igloolik I mentioned the boy to one of the schoolteachers in a casual conversation. She immediately

identified who he was and said "He should have gone to school, but you know...he decided that is not something he wanted to do, so he doesn't come. But maybe he would start from September" (Fieldnotes, 30/04/02).

There was a dilemma about expectations of what children should do and learn. Schooling was what children were supposed to do, whereas elders and communities wanted them to retain the land-skills and Inuit culture, which required going to the land with families. Someone in the community needed to get food from the land, and it required time to acquire the necessary knowledge and skills. Often childhood was a suitable time to practise and learn. At the same time, no one denied the necessity of schooling. During Paariaqtuqtut one young person said he had stopped going to school, but was considering restarting, "because you have to get a job, and you have to go to school. I want to keep on hunting, but nowadays we cannot survive only by hunting, we have to get a job".

While school dominated most of the children's time, the community members seemed of the view that it did not deliver what children needed, apart from a certificate if they successfully completed the curriculum. All interviewees suggested that classrooms were not suitable for teaching and learning Inuit knowledge and land-skills, for example:

> ...They won't learn if they are in town, even though if they are taught in classroom, they won't really understand because

> they are not observing what elders know when they are out there, out on the land. It is easier for young people to learn these kinds of techniques when they are out on the land, observing, hearing and observing at the same time, that is the way they learn. (BJ, 15 May 2002)

> We can't teach these in town. Home is a different place. It is a too big place to concentrate. Camp is cosy and better for teaching. There are a lot more to learn while camping. (NJ, 9 May 2002)

*Social Problems Among Young People*

Social problems such as alcohol and drug abuse were also cited as factors that had influenced the development of land-skills courses. The IS gave priority to those who had little opportunity to go out on the land and had dropped out of school, risking social degeneration. Some informants explained that the land-skills course was a good way for young people to learn to be independent and live according to the 'land norms' as Inuit had always done.

> ...this (the course) helps young people to grow to conform with the norm to live according to what is expected of them. By leaving them in the community and supervising, you tend to run into a lot of problems with young people. Especially TV blurring for 24 hours, you know. You get an idea that it is good to distract them to get into this kind of thing. This is where the Inullariit Society has a big pride to assist young people to set their course for future. (MU, 23 May 2002)

Rasing (1994) states that Iglulingmiut in the past had exercised a high level of both self-control and social control, which enabled them to live in relative harmony and order. He suggests it was a characteristic of Iglulingmiut hunters that they needed to control their emotions to increase their chance of success. The implication is that if young Igluingmiut were trained to be adequate hunters, they might re-learn these qualities and, in doing so, mitigate some of the social problems faced by young people.

**Why Promote Traditional Knowledge?**

One could argue that as a society changes, the knowledge and skills required to live well in that society also change. Iglulingmiut life has changed dramatically over the past 40 years. They now live in houses with modern amenities including electricity, running water and satellite TV. Food is available in shops and restaurants and a government social assistance scheme provides some cash. Faced with such changes, what is the use of learning land-skills and maintaining traditional culture?

*Safety in Daily Life*

I asked Ivalu what Inullariit wanted young Iglulingmiut to learn. He answered instantaneously:

> Mostly navigation. Eh, place names, wind directions where the wind is coming from, snow formations...we teach these

> things because these are always there. They are going to be more on different things [depending on the courses]. Also landmarks, they [the young people] have to know how the land looks like. In order to know where they are they have to know landmarks. We also teach where the floe edge-the dangerous areas, also open waters that might be dangerous to new hunters. Also how to make shelter like an igloo, in case your machine breaks down, you have to know how to make a shelter. (15 May 2002)

Even when I asked if these were of any importance for those who did not travel out of Igloolik, he maintained there were practical and safety issues if they went travelling. He seemed to feel that it was unlikely that anyone would never travel out from the village. What concerned him most was the safety of those who were not trained in survival skills and knowledge of the land. Later I discovered that his concerns were based on actual incidents. Gradually I started to realise that 'to survive on the land' was a present and serious element of life in Igloolik. It was fundamental to know about the area, the ecology and climate where they lived and travelled, and how to cope with both the expected and the unexpected. Whether on the land or in town, the Arctic weather can be life-threatening. Iyerak recounted an incident of a 6-year-old boy freezing to death in town:

> You have to fear '*sila*'[20]. It's...outside...because it can get so cold that you can die from it. Hypothermia or freeze, you know, you have to fear it. You have to have respect for it. Even in town there was a little kid who froze. He entered into the empty house, and just slept there, and froze to death. Six years old. Everybody was looking for him. Even me,

> I was looking for him in the shed and wherever. It was just over there behind that house. (23 May 2002)

Many more stories were told by Iglulingumiut, in which people died or nearly lost their lives because of insufficient knowledge and skills to travel and survive on the land. Two young men got lost with snow machines in a blizzard not long before I arrived. They managed to stay alive for a few days until the weather cleared and they could see the landscape. They had radio contact, but unfortunately they could not tell the rescue team their exact location as they did not know the landmarks or how to read the snowdrift. They gave an approximate location, which turned out to be wrong, and the rescue team had difficulty finding them (MacDonald, 2000, p. 163).

According to Ikummaq, committee member of the HTA in Igloolik, all hunters were assumed to possess traditional navigational skills, but the HTA provided them with training in Global Positioning System (GPS), range finders and a personal locator beacon for emergencies (T. Ikummaq,15 May 2002). Residents of Igloolik did go out of town for many reasons with snow machines or on foot while I was visiting. Travelling was part of life for many of them. I learnt from interviews and conversation that young people sometimes casually went out alone. There was, however, an indication that not everyone was travelling out constantly. Some young people tended to prefer being in town. Sometimes people could not go out much due to a lack of money for gasoline or a machine. Nonetheless most of

Iglulingmiut went out at some time and unless they knew how to navigate and how to survive in the Arctic, the consequences could be life threatening. Lifestyles may have changed, but the Arctic environment has not.

*Meaning of Going Out to the Land*

Traditional knowledge was promoted by IS principally because of safety concerns. Then why did they go out, risking their lives? Going out to the land was usually associated with subsistence activities such as hunting and fishing[21]. However, several interviewees said that they sometimes went out just for the sake of it. Whatever the motivation, being on the land and subsistence were *de facto* an essential part of their life. Promoting traditional knowledge linked to the land and subsistence activities was seen as vital. From my study there appeared to be three reasons why Iglulingmiut needed to go out to the land and keep on hunting, no matter how much frozen meat was available in the shops.

Food as Local Economy and as Cultural Significance

Subsistence activities provided Iglulingumiut food. For a couple with two children, who were unemployed for the past 30 days and seeking work, a government income support scheme would provide CAN$943 per month for food and rent. An officer in charge of the scheme admitted that income support alone was not sufficient for an Inuit family to sustain themselves, estimating that about CAN$1200 to 1300 per month would be necessary for a family of four to buy basic essential food (not

including rent). One family of five claimed that they spent CAN$2000 in a month on food without eating land food. A wage at one of the two main stores in Igloolik was CAN$10 per hour and a full-time position might bring in about CAN$1760 a month. If two people in a household worked at the store full-time, they could purchase all necessary food. However, that takes no account of rent or the cost of clothing and other necessities such as fuel. Over 40% of the labour force did not have a job in 1999 (RT & Associates, 2002) and 65% of residents were estimated to be receiving income support (A municipality officer, fieldnotes, 14/05/02). Clearly people in Igloolik needed food sources other than the stores[22]. The sharing of land food was strongly practised by Iglulingmiut. They ensured that anyone could get a share of the food[23] and hunters were not paid for their efforts in cash.

However, hunting was costly. Though many people described land food as 'free', hunters incurred real costs in both resources and time. Hunters needed cash to pay for fuel, oil, snowmobiles, boats, engines, ammunition, spare parts, maintenance, trail food, camping equipment, emergency equipment and so on. A box of ammunition, for example, which might last an 'occasional hunter' two weeks, cost CAN$25. A snow machine is likely to use CAN$40 of fuel per day. One interviewee estimated that he needed CAN$500 to 600 per month to "keep up a good pace" (Fieldnotes, 21/05.02). At one time the Nunavut government hunter support scheme distributed 20 gallons of fuel per person. According to an HTA

spokeswoman, this amount of fuel would last for a one-off caribou hunt in spring, but not in summer when the animals were further away.

The same spokeswoman said that meat could work out as very expensive for the hunter, especially as sometimes everything got distributed and nothing was left for the hunter. Hunters, she explained, were usually supported by someone's wages and/or social assistance. Some would also carve stones to sell at a store. She said "It is likely that someone in a household hunts, but definitely not the whole household hunts" (Fieldnotes, 22/05/02). Though it may work out costly for hunters, the country food they brought in had value for the community, which frozen meat at stores could not replace[24]. It is significant to their cultural well-being, which encompasses their interconnection with animals and spiritual world. People expressed the intimate connection with land food in variety of ways.

> We have to have meat. When you are an Inuk, you have to have meat. It has to be in your diet...We eat country food every day. I cannot live without eating country food, but I can manage without store-bought food. (UJZ, 23 May 2002)

> It is our tradition to hunt for food. When you are an Inuk, you have to hunt for food. You don't get paid for it from others if you give food. (KL, 23 May 2002)

> A whole lot of us grew up with meat alone. [A pause, and taking a breath in] We need it. We are starting to find out we need it. For example, if I am to stay in Ottawa for a

> week. After the second day, none of the food tastes good any more. Because my body yearns for certain type of meat...So it's a requirement. (UJ, 15 May 2002)

The statements also included the cultural value of sharing and linked this with their identity as Inuit. Sharing is based on and reinforces a sense of collective survival. Even those not involved in hunting can identify themselves as Inuit by sharing land food.

Becoming an Inuk

The section above implied the link between eating land food and identity. In fact, as I progressed with the analysis of the programme, I realised that many elements in interviewees' accounts related to 'being and becoming an Inuk'.

Ivalu's comments on what young Iglulingmiut needed to learn were mostly geared towards physical survival. However, learning survival skills was also strongly tied to a recognition of 'who they are'. To master survival skills, one needs to be out in unpredictable wild areas for a certain length of time. One has to have a good understanding of a range of interrelated issues such as ecology, climate, navigation, geography, animal behaviour, animal anatomy, use of animal parts, mechanics, firearms, living skills, team work skills and a capacity to improvise. Being and working outdoors involves values and lessons for life. They need the right attitude towards inherent danger and unpredictable reality. These values and attitudes

include patience, persistence, calmness, humbleness, respect for animals and *sila*, respect for elders' wisdom, sharing of material possessions, not wasting resources, and being in harmony with each other. This is how an Inuk should be in order to survive and be successful in living on the land. After all, 'being an Inuk' is a manifestation of retaining culture and knowledge, which is the stated objective of the IS. The following comment directly links experiences on the land with 'being an Inuk':

> In winter when I get senior boys we go out into the blizzard to make themselves build an igloo. Because the life is not cheery and beautiful everyday, you know, you have to...go ups and downs. Bad weather and surviving in the harsh environment is what makes you an Inuk. You know .. it's just like that...any other potatoes that I know. [laugh] (MU, interview, 23 May 2002)

The IS document titled *Report by Arsene and Madeline Ivalu* dated August 28, 1996 was attached to an Inullariit course report sent to a funding organisation of that year. In the document Ivalu wrote "The way of being an INUK, that is the reason why they came here to this area" (IS file, 1993-1998). During the interview, Ivalu confirmed what he wrote and added that:

> When you take your family and go out for some time, you start living like your ancestors did. Because you knew how they lived then, and you have to sort of live like them when you are out there. (15 May 2002)

Often 'being and becoming an Inuk' was referred to as 'being how they used to be' when Inuit were living a nomadic lifestyle with a greater degree of independence. Many people seemed to revere this model of life and to feel that there was something amiss with 'contemporary Inuit'.

The Relationship with the Land and Well-Being

A third aspect of the meaning of going to the land was inseparable from the first two. As noted earlier, interviewees considered 'being on the land' was necessary for the Inuit way of learning and knowing. Other notions identified as being linked to 'being on the land' included well-being, family ties, language, connection and survival training. These notions were interrelated and taken together contributed to 'becoming an Inuk'.

The 1994 funding proposal wrote that "Inullariit Society promotes proper relationship between Inuit and the land" (IS file, 1993-1998). This was not the romantic notion that outsiders might imagine, as Ivalu explained:

> You have to be in relation to the land where there are the animals in order to survive...so that you can have country food. And it's good for your health to be out on the land because you grow up there...out there. You grow up out there, it's in you to be out there (15 May 2002).

This comment expressed his view of the strong physical and spiritual bond between Inuit and the land. Moreover, this was how a 'proper relationship' was understood among Inuit elders. If you were in a proper relationship with the land, not only would you survive, as you would be able to hunt, but also remain healthy. Iyerak explained the importance of being on the land as the "well-being of the person, connection to the land. Connection to wildlife, to everything...the environment" (23 May 2002). This clearly indicates the Inuit's perception of the intimate and inseparable relationship with the land.

A notion of 'well-being' was expressed as health, happiness, pleasure, freedom, beauty and quietness. During Paariaqtuqtut, Ivalu told me that he had a serious breathing problem and normally needed to use a scarf when he went out in the community during winter. However he had not used it once since he arrived in Nagvaak. Paniaq was Ivalu's older brother and Ivalu said Paniaq looked much younger and active at the Nagvaak camp than usual. During the interview in Igloolik he added:

> Also a lady from Hall Beach, who went along the trip as their ancestors used to use the route, she also has a breathing problem. Two people from Repulse have breathing problems, they have to use oxygen and puffers, but when they left communities, things changed. They didn't have to use these things any more, they were able to be outside without a help of these things. Because they felt better

about themselves, and I guess being out there helps some wounds, and makes them feel better. (15 May 2002)

My visit to Igloolik covered most of May. After 18 May the sun was continuously above the horizon and people were active at any time of the day. It was getting close to the time for the spring hunting, for which many people expressed their love. The conversations I had with people were usually dominated by going out to the land, hunting and fishing. These showed the extent to which people had direct experiences with the land and the strong ties they had with the environment. Moreover the joyful manner in which they talked suggested that they truly enjoyed being out, doing what they wanted to do. One of the elders said:

> In June, it's non-stop. People go to Mogg Bay for fishing all the time. People, children...day and night, it doesn't matter. They go anytime and can return anytime. (MJ, 25 May 2002)

Some mentioned healing linked to a notion of 'being on the land', which included serenity and peace of mind. Ikummaq described how each element was interlinked:

> They have created an interest of the land, and what the land offers, not just animals. The serenity, the peace of mind, what have you...we look at the environment as a healing process ourselves. For example, things get too hectic in the community, [we] just take off. Live on the land for a short bit. And it eases off...a problem is still here, but when you come back it seems to have become smaller even though it hasn't changed. So again there is somewhat about a healing

> process being camping. Taking family out camping. It strengthens the family, the language becomes better...the language becomes better when they come back, living out there, where they are required to speak traditional language. (15 May 2002)

Some informants such as Iyerak and Ikummaq who had attended a residential school away from home powerfully explained the meaning of being on the land. I assume that this was not only because they had excellent English skills but also because their personal experiences of being cut off from the land made them aware of the importance of such relationships.

A notion of being 'good for youth' was seen as connecting all the values of being on the land. The assumption was that the land offered these benefits to them (the adults), therefore, it would offer the same benefits to the younger generation. Moreover, adults were aware that a life on the land was more physically demanding than being in town. There were usually many things to be done in order to maintain camp life, therefore daily living occupied the youth and at the same time it taught them responsibility as well as land-skills and knowledge. Usually life outdoors requires teamwork and collaboration, a strengthened bond and trust in others. In town, on the other hand, one of the problems was that young people had nothing to do and, so far as adults were concerned, tended to 'get into trouble'.

Connection and relationship with the land was also at core of the Inullariit worldview. This was expressed in many ways but can be categorised in terms of 'time' (including ancestors and the past life), 'place', and 'web of life' (the bigger world including spirituality). The informants' and interviewees' relationships with the land and the natural world was represented by the word 'respect'. According to them, respect would naturally occur by recognising people as being part of the Earth.

Tapardjuk's comment below summarised how all the ideas around being on the land were interlinked and were also connected with the rationale of the Inullariit's training course. He spoke this without a pause as if everything inside of him just rushed out:

> Culture and dignity, and practical skills for sure. They all come together because Inuit look at them holistically, they don't look at compartmentalised. We try to promote the holistic approach. If you go on a survival programme, you are actually getting trained in everything from diversity of the land, communing with the land, all the spiritual aspect, and...the whole world...I mean, you have to be out on the land in order for you to recognise you are a part of the Earth, you are to respect the Earth in order for the Earth to provide you with your need. So there are kind of the spiritual aspects that you have to train the young people including survival skills. With that comes the pride, dignity and a sense of self-worth, so we are working towards the sub-determination how young people can work on their own with proper coaching from the elders. (Interview, 23 May 2002)

**Different Opinions in the Community**

The overwhelming majority of older community members I talked to during the fieldwork considered that hunting was essential for an Inuk and that land food was important physically, culturally, socially and spiritually. However there was a different voice. One interviewee said that people in Igloolik did not accept that the 'old culture' was declining. He continued:

> I am not sure, but it is really a genuine desire to hold the identity as the way people used to be. Realistically, I think it is IMPOSSIBLE [original emphasis] to be like people used to be. It is 21st century. But it is a genuine desire for people to remain as it was. (14 May 2002)

He hunted only in spring. He ate land food only once a month. He grinned and said "I'm a funny Inuk, you know". He said an average family in Igloolik would eat land food once a day or every other day, which he estimated made up about 40% of their diet. He left for a boarding school at the age of five, and he returned home only for the summers. After boarding school, he went to many different places in Canada for work and more training. It had been quite some time since he returned to Igloolik but he did not seem to be completely happy and there was a sense of his feeling like 'a stranger' in his native community. This might have been caused by the discrepancy between his values and those of the majority of the society on the direction Igloolik should take. He had siblings who had not left home for boarding

school as he had and he concluded that this was the main cause of the differences in thinking and attitudes between them.

Like most of the boarding school returnees, he was concerned about the current school education in Igloolik. While many returnees were in favour of teaching children Inuktitut and some advocated an 'Inuktitut-only school' in Nunavut, however he preferred the school to teach English first, until fifth or sixth grade, then Inuktitut[25].

However it would be wrong to see this person was having been totally 'acculturated', considering that everything 'the whites' had was better. His vision of Igloolik seemed to be based on the practicality that the community would not be able to become self-sufficient with only subsistence activities. He did not deny the value of the Inuit tradition and culture, and he clearly identified himself as an Inuk, albeit 'a strange one'. He viewed what had been maintained and what had been changed in terms of the society and customs. The justice system, he told me, was one example of where a change to Inuit values was needed:

> Now they [the police] go and look for a criminal, take away from the community, and put him/her into jail. The system is based on punishment. This is wrong according to our culture, and it does not work. In Inuit way, if a person has a problem, we find him and people gather, and really talk with him. Really talk with him. Talk about the problem and

everything, you know, and we all understand. The person is integrated, not separated from community. (14 May 2002)

Meeting with this person indicated the diversity in opinions in the Igloolik community. However as he regarded himself as different from the others in attitudes and opinions, his would probably be a minority stance particularly among older generation.

## Participants' Views of Experiences

In this section I explore the young peoples' views of the Paariaqtuqtut experiences and their world in general. I first explain the sources I used and the characteristics of the Paariaqtuqtut participants. Then the participants' views of their programme experiences are examined and their perceptions of cultural values and relationship with the land are explored. I sometimes contrast these with the views of the organisers. Finally, I illustrate the young Iglulingmiut's world at the time of my visit in 2002.

### Sources of Analysis

For analysis I used my observation and records of conversations with young people during Paariaqtuqtut regardless of whether or not they were official participants. For detailed analysis, however, I concentrated on the five registered participants interviewed later in Igloolik.

As mentioned earlier, I shared a tent with two young Inuuk from the IBC. This had disadvantages in that I missed an opportunity to observe family interaction in a tent and to get from Mo more insights into life on the land. On the other hand, there were advantages. Young camp participants came into our tent frequently, and they were relaxed and spoke freely without having Inuit adults present. This provided me with an opportunity to learn about the young people's world in a very natural setting. Moreover, young people told me what instructors were teaching them during the day and at night in the tent. From their stories I could construct an overall picture of the programme. They spoke in English to begin with so that I understood, but they increasingly spoke in Inuktitut. Sometimes someone translated for me or I could pick up some words I knew. If necessary, I could ask follow-up questions later. Most of the young people spoke fluent English. The conversation in the tent during the camp was often held in the form of a group discussion, which turned out to be very useful in understanding their worldviews as well as their opinions on various issues. The young people in the camp were lively and their conversation was a full of laughter. They were open and easy to talk with.

After the programme I interviewed five people in Igloolik, one female and four males. Of five interviewees, two joined in Inullariit's programmes for the first time as participants on this course. However one of the two had experienced it in the

past as an assistant cameraman for the IBC. Thus four interviewees had a good idea of what to expect prior to the programme.

I had initially hoped for more interviewees, but this small number of five interviewees may highlight some aspects of young people's world in Igloolik. They were difficult to pin down once they were back in the community. Two more course participants whom I made an interview appointment with did not turn up at the arranged time, and one of the two failed to show up for the second appointment. Whenever someone visited them for me to re-arrange an appointment, they were asleep or not available. There were some more people who agreed during the camp to meet me for an interview after we returned to Igloolik, but despite my best efforts I could not get hold of them. They did not necessarily have phones at home. Either they were asleep or no one was sure where a particular person lived at that time. Many young people who did not have regular work or go to school tended to stay up all night, watching videos or visiting friends, and sleep during the day[26]. Once an interviewee showed up about half an hour later for a 2pm appointment, apologising that he just got up as he was watching a video until 5am. Moreover when there was 24-hour daylight, people in Igloolik could be very active during the night time depending on what they needed to do. The clock did not matter; only the weather and their commitments. The condition of terrain could be more favourable for travelling during 'night' time. Therefore it was not strange for anyone to be sleeping during the 'day' time.

Though the number of interviewees was not large, it was sufficient to explore their views especially when supplemented with my own observations and conversations during the programme. I found that the young people were often more expressive during the camp than in town. They gave me a very different impression in town compared to what I observed on the trip. I came across some of the young people on the street of Igloolik. Those same people looked dull and irritated about something. Some did not look as healthy as they had on the trail. They talked in a much quieter tone and I had to ask them to repeat what they said. They did not laugh as much. Of the ten young people I saw in Igloolik after the programme, seven gave me this impression.

**Young People's Regular Experiences on the Land**

Having watched young people during Paariaqtuqtut, it was obvious that most of them were used to the camping routine and were comfortable on the land. All of the young people to a certain extent had 'land experience' with families and relatives, especially in spring when literally every family of Igloolik went out camping, seal hunting, bird hunting, fishing, etc. But their experiences were limited and everyone I talked with said that despite their willingness to do so, they did not go out hunting or camping much in their usual life. Most mentioned family reasons for not having opportunities by saying 'My grandparents died before I was born' and 'My father wants to go hunting by himself'. One participant who was 31 years old told me that

he had not been out on the land for eight years. He hunted one caribou during Paariaqtuqtut and, when talking of this, said:

> The last time I caught caribou was...when I was 13 or 12 years old. That was long time ago, when I used to go out with my dad...way before he got ill. He used to go out mostly everyday. I didn't go out with him everyday, only once a week or something like that. The caribou I caught on this trip was my second one over my whole lifetime. Well some of young people have already caught like 50 caribou in their lifetime. Just amazing. (EB, 16 May 2002)

Some mentioned financial and resource reasons. As they could not afford to buy fuel or a snow machine, they could not accompany their relatives. Two participants grew up in an outpost camp where their life was based on subsistence activities. They now lived in the town and neither had been hunting lately because they had no jobs to pay for fuel. The course was for young people who did not otherwise have an opportunity to experience the land, and the course participants I talked with certainly fell into this category.

**Paariaqtuqtut Experience**

*Motivation to Participate*

All five interviewees said they signed up for the course of their own free will. Their main motivation had three related elements: learning culture, being out on the land and a break from town. Their desire to learn Inuit culture was also mentioned in the

conversations during the course. This implies an awareness among some young people that somehow they were not fully familiar with certain aspects of their 'culture' or the culture is not transmitted properly.

> So I could learn, seeing the view. 'Cause I've gotta learn a lot...a lot of words that I can't understand. Like animal parts, rocks, and...when I say 'what's this?' they start to explain. That is what I want to learn. (SP, 17 May 2002)

> I wanted to learn my culture, Inuit culture. I think it's important to me. (MB, 16 May 2002)

> I really wanted to go out from town for a while, and see some animals, caribou, fish...something like that. I haven't been out for a while now. (NB, 16 May 2002)

Many of them mentioned that they wanted to see the landscape and wildlife, which I categorised into 'a break from town' or 'being on the land' depending on the context. It has to be noted that seeing animals and views in this context had implications significantly different from going to a zoo or a country park in any industrialised nation, which is still situated in an urban context. The land the participants were talking about was not under human control and humans were not protected by any man-made structures. This concept involved for example coping with temperatures of -20℃ or lower with strong winds, hunting a caribou and skinning its warm body with his or her own hands and digging through 2-metre thick ice to make a fishing hole.

One person disclosed his personal motivation by saying that he wanted to give his mother a break from him. He claimed that he usually spent most of the time inside the house, watching TV, and his mother apparently got annoyed with him. He also felt that he needed to have a break from her, from the lifestyle and to see if he could do without drugs and other city attractions.

*Learning from the Experiences*

Young people discussed learning about mostly practical things such as keeping a fire going in a *qulliq* (an oil lamp), carrying a baby in an *amauti*, what is involved in hunting and in igloo making, weather prediction, reading snow, Inuktitut words for animal body parts, place names and landmarks and Inuit traditional games. It needs to be reiterated that no one skill stands alone. Tending the fire in a *qulliq*, for example, requires knowledge of suitable plant material for the wick, where in the tundra to find them and how to prepare them. It also requires patience and concentration. Practical skills are based on a series of knowledge and skills.

For the organisers, the transmission of practical skills was very important. In particular, they stressed navigation and related knowledge. Many participants also referred to navigational knowledge as their learning. Some felt they knew the area much better, whereas others said they would not yet be able to track the route by

themselves. Nevertheless in a broad sense the experiences seemed to get them close to the land.

Learning through experience, however, did not mean that they mastered skills or retained the knowledge. They claimed to have learnt Inuktitut names of animals parts, for example, but when asked to give an example, no one could remember them. Some also said that they had learned about *pukajaq*, the hardness and softness of snow, but again they could not remember the concept well enough to explain. However, instant mastering and recalling was not expected by anyone. Repetition and trial and error based on patience had been the rule in traditional ways of learning, though elders commented that even single instance learning still made a difference. One of the participants told me he had hunted caribou many times. I asked his instructor if the young man needed to learn more in hunting. He answered instantly and with a smile:

> Sure. Even if he knows how to shoot, he still has lots to learn. Like myself, I am learning too. There are more things to learn always in hunting. (MJ, 25 May 2002)

Weather differs everyday and nothing in the natural environment is ever repeated identically. There may be some principles which underpin traditional knowledge, but the application of it requires experience. The elder above humbly suggested that the learning never ends.

Another important dimension of learning among the participants was a better understanding of the Inuit's life in the past. Some claimed that travelling on their snow machines through the same land their ancestors and elders used to travel on foot or with dog teams gave them an insight into what was involved in their life. This sense of involvement was reinforced for the young people when those who had actually walked in the area told stories of those days. The sense of amazement and appreciation was also evident in the opening ceremony at Nagvaak. One participant suggested that understanding his own connection to place, ancestors and life in the past contributed to his inner self.

> It [Paariaqtuqtut experience] made me feel that I am part of it in a way that my ancestors used to be part of it. I guess I was sensing that what they went through was actually this particular land, and that was one of the greatest moments for me. Actually staying on the ground that they had walked trying to survive in the hardest way. (EB, 16 May 2002)

*Value of the Inullariit Programmes*

The participants viewed the programmes as valuable. They felt that it would help young people 'when they needed that knowledge' and would also lead them to appreciate their lives and the ancestors to whom they owed their existence. They did not question the value of maintaining culture, and liked to 'practise the culture and knowledge'.

Unlike many young people in Igloolik who did not try to go to the land, MB came to the course because she wanted to learn Inuit culture. She felt that young people liked to stay in town because of drugs and alcohol, and were "losing their culture" (MB, 16 May 2002), and that this was contradictory to her belief in being Inuit. Moreover, by learning her culture she committed herself not to getting involved in drugs, and felt that the IS courses provided her with a chance to remain intact as an Inuk. EP also stressed the importance of learning and keeping culture alive:

> This is very good to organise these things [land-skills courses], 'cause we have to learn, we have to know what they did when we weren't even born. We have to know what they used to do when they were in our age and younger. (17 May 2002)

Once I had a discussion with eight young Inuit in the tent during Paariaqtuqtut. They all agreed that Igloolik was one of the most traditional communities in Nunavut. EP acknowledged the important role of Inullariit, saying that, compared to other communities, "our elders gather more on traditional days and they still go to drum dances. Maybe because we have a group like the Inullariit society" (Fieldnotes, 07/05/02). The others nodded. On the other hand, EB suggested that the programme could have meant much more to elders than to the young people. According to him, the trip helped elders' memories and made them feel good. Whereas for the young people, "it was just one of the trips that were enjoyed by all and by curiosity" (16 May 2002).

*Being on the Land*

Inullariit and the community members regarded 'being on the land' as fundamental to keeping the culture intact. Therefore it was inseparable from 'being and becoming an Inuk' which was supported by an awareness of connection with time, place and the 'web of life'. The analysis revealed that the participants in the programme shared the same view as the elders concerning the meaning of 'being on the land'. It was linked to 'being an Inuk', 'hunting' and 'well-being'. In addition, being on the land made them realise their connection with ancestors, place and the bigger environment, which matched with elders' perception. EP powerfully expressed his realisation of this connection between his identity and the land.

> I think the land means everything to me, because I'm Inuk and...I am from Nunavut, and in order to go hunting, I have to know where I am going. I would definitely have to know where I am going. (17 May 2002)

Much of the conversation among the young people during Paariaqtuqtut was dominated by their experiences on the land. Without intending to they had demonstrated their connection with the land. Of course the group was likely to have a positive attitude to the land as they chose to come out with the elders and participate in the Inullariit's course.

## Young People's General Perceptions

### Background

One of my intentions was to get a sense of 'where Igloolik young people are' in terms of traditional values and their relationship with the land. Recent anthropological and sociological literature illustrates 'authentic and traditional' Inuit worldviews as resilient or interprets social processes and social problems subsequent to the drastic social change; in such a context, young people's views are discussed by the authors as being different from traditional views. However, only a few explore young people's values in relation to the environment. Condon's work (1997), first published in 1987, examined the young Inuit's world from many different aspects. It was a valuable contribution, but the study community in the North West Territories of Canada, differs from Igloolik in its attribute. Rasing's work in 1994 focused on Igloolik and intensively explored people's relationships with the natural environment. While his main interests lay in social order, young people's values were also examined and he describes how they were heavily influenced by Euro-Canadian culture through schooling and TV, and how they developed their norms and attitudes within peer groups. He concludes that Iglulingmiut no longer held the same views or shared the same values and norms with the past.

My work is not specifically 'about' the young people. Nevertheless, understanding their values and their relationship with the land is important not least because the

educational programme, which is my focus, was created for young people. Due to the framework of the study, the young people involved in this study did not necessarily represent the entire young generation in Igloolik. However, by using direct quotes, I hope to illuminate the perceptions of contemporary Iglulingmiut youth.

**Going Out to the Land**

The young people I talked to unanimously stated that their generation increasingly did not go out to the land. A person who had joined the IS's programme five times over the years talked about a change in his personal feelings:

> MBN: I used to be excited to go for camping, but now it is like 'nehh'. I don't really feel like it. I don't know why...Not many people are interested in this kind of things anymore. We are more and more inside the house. There are many things attractive in town, and young people prefer to watch TV, drink pop, music, going to pool at youth club. (Fieldnotes, 05/05/02)

One of the participants suggested that going out to the land might be an interest shared by all Inuit, but this could also be a notion that was culturally constructed; people blindly followed the notion without questioning the change in culture. He said it was ultimately an individual's choice whether or not "to keep in touch with the land or the town" (EB, 16 May 2002). He mentioned that there were people who could not go even if they wanted to, whereas some others had to go despite their

unwillingness as one could not be left behind when all the family was going. He was excited about going to the land with Paariaqtuqtut. Nevertheless, he firmly stated that he was not eager to learn traditional skills because he would not be a good hunter anyway. He did not own a snow machine and he was not good at mechanics and, therefore, would not be hunting at all. His comments echo those of many other young people.

It has to be remembered that the participants chose to join the Inullariit programme, understanding that the value of the course was to promote Inuit culture. The person above also recognised traditional values but he seemed to suggest that it was inappropriate to push the same values onto everyone. However, other participants did not share this view. They generally said that young people should know the land[27]. EP believed that Iglulingmiut must know the land and young people should go out to the land. But he also admitted that he did not want to go out 'all the time', but only when he felt like it. This suggests some diversity in cultural identity, especially among young people in Igloolik. In addition, there seemed to be a discrepancy between what young people perceived themselves to be doing and what they actually did. Many of them did not bother going out on the land, but neither did they justify staying in town. Some were frustrated with the lack of opportunities, regardless of their willingness and it was these young people that the IS targeted.

The fact that young people did not go out to the land evidently resulted in less knowledge being passed to the younger generation. This was apparent through observation during a camp. Concerning practical skills, for example, I discovered none of them knew how to select the right place for an igloo or had built a complete igloo by themselves. Of course the camp was organised for exactly these people, but those who were conscious about their culture affirmed that young people increasingly lost interest in going to the land, perhaps implying the same things about themselves.

**Change in Life**

The young people acknowledged a drastic social change over the past 40 years, and they perceived that traditional culture was weakening. Many of them considered that there were not many hunters in Igloolik who hunted constantly. At the same time, they were aware that they had 'bad habits' such as drugs, eating junk food and being inside the home too much. They were also aware that elders viewed their 'bad habits' as social problems, and that many adults were themselves part of it.

> ...they (ancestors) did something really really hard, even when they were hungry, they kept on trying to live. People, all ancestors, gave us life...We are not even working hard, like doing different stuffs. Nowadays teenagers are smoking dopes, there weren't any dopes around [in the past]. Before we were born, all they did was hunt. Hunt, hunt, and travelled to the other communities, moved around, with dog teams. (EP, 17 May 2002)

The young people agreed that learning their culture was important and that knowing about the past was valuable. They understood that people were healthier and tougher in the past. Even with such admiration of the elders and ancestors, they did not regret what they had today, including their 'bad habits'. Most of those I talked to had no intention of quitting drugs completely, or of giving up town life. As I mentioned earlier, one day there was a discussion in our tent as to how traditional Igloolik was. Towards the end of the conversation one person dominated the discussion, insisting that the traditions should be maintained. When he had finished, he lay down on the caribou skin laid on the snow ground in the tent with headsets connected to a CD player. Then he started to sing a Rock'n' Roll song, following the rhythm with his body.

Contemporary life in Igloolik has relied heavily on external assistance. It was generally agreed among Iglulingmiut I met that they require a certain degree of external assistance in their daily life. Under the current political situation, it is unlikely that the Canadian Government would cease their financial support to Nunavut, but I recognised that many people felt insecure being dependent on external assistance and were fearful that it would be stopped. EB was one of those who considered the possibility that the Governmental service would stop one day and no food would get delivered to the stores. For that reason, he was convinced that it was important to keep on learning the land-skills individually and collectively. I

asked EB whether young people could survive if the external contribution were to stop. He answered that most of them would survive. However, he continued, "Most of us would rather be dead if the Government suddenly decided to back away [laugh]" (15 May 2002). While acknowledging the importance of the land-skills for security, the young people in Igloolik also recognised that they needed more than the land-skills in order to survive in this modern society.

The elders stated that one would learn everything necessary by being on the land. This should probably be interpreted as 'everything necessary to realise the core values of being an Inuk'. The elders certainly recognised that contemporary town life required a considerable amount of money and to finish school was supposed to open the way to getting a paid job[28]. Whether people truly need to learn from school more than can be learnt by being on the land is debatable, and involves discussing the nature and purpose of education. In addition, it probably also depends on what kind of future one envisages within a given social and economic framework. One may further propose to change the framework. It might be argued that being on the land could offer everything a person must learn including a sense of responsibility, self-control, patience and endurance. However, in reality paid employment requires a high school certificate and in dealing with 'outsiders' such as the Canadian administration the Inuit often have to use English and Western terminology. Young people were under considerable pressure. They identified strongly with the ideal of the hunter and with being in touch with the land, but they

also understood that, in the current economic system, this alone could not provide enough for them and their families.

**Traditional Values**

*Land Food*

The cultural and social significance of land food among Iglulingmiut was discussed earlier. Many adults claimed they craved it and that they had to have meat in their daily diet. Among young people, however, the physical and emotional dependence on the land food did not appear to be as strong.

During Paariaqtuqtut, having land food seemed to be a powerful experience for young people as they seldom saw it in such quantity or diversity. As caribou were caught, people were eating fresh meat everyday. This did not happen in their town life. Not all young people appreciated having a variety of country food, however, and some started to crave for 'store-bought food', especially after they ran out of what they had brought with them. After the feast during a camp, one young person said to me:

> You know there are some country food I would not consider even touch it. Even if store food ran out, still I wouldn't eat much of the country food. Maybe a little. I would not dare to try aged whale blubber. (Fieldnotes, 06/05/02)

There were considerable differences in comments regarding land food among the young people. EB said he did not crave it. He ate three or four meals of land food in a month. His family kept frozen land food at home so that their mother could have some whenever she wanted. Many other young people during camp also said they mostly ate store-bought food at home. On the other hand, there were young Iglulingmiut who ate land food daily and who claimed that "When there are lots, I just eat country food. I really...I love them" (EP, 17 May 2002).

*Respect for Animals*

I discovered that young people held traditional beliefs and values in relation to animals, although the underlying rationale may have been lost. They all said they respected animals chiefly because animals supported their lives as food and clothing. They stated their rules: 'Do not make animals suffer', 'Take only what you need', and 'Never waste anything'. These same statements were repeated by adults and elders.

In the tent two young men told me with gestures how they caught seals. When they caught seals they were supposed to melt snow in their mouth and pour it into seals' mouths in order to 'ease its way'. One continued to say he did not know what to do with the other animals, and said "I really have to learn what to do after we catch something" (Fieldnotes, 03/05/02). He was willing to abide by Inuit rules based on respect. When EB was very young he had seen a woman covering fish eyes with

black ash when they caught it, in addition to a hunter pouring water into seal's mouth. He was told that they had respect for animals. If they treated animals badly, the sea goddess would command animals not to go to them as they were bad. "Respecting animals is another way to keep animals up here...not killing them a lot, but what you need only" (16 May 2002). However, respect for, and protection of, animals takes a form that is quite different from western expectations.

> TT: Do you respect animals?
> MB: Hmhm, I do. I like to go hunting. (16 May 2002)

> TT: In what way do you think people have to protect nature?
> EB: One of the many ways to protect nature is...eh...to keep on hunting and...keep the animals population in balance, and if there were to be a sudden change, try to respect the change, and if they have to go through a dent, they have to go through ... (16 May 2002)

Brody (1987) explains that hunters and animals are regarded as equal partners and animals have agreed to be killed (pp. 72-77). Hunters believe that animals would not agree to be hunted unless they are treated with respect, both when alive and dead. Hunters give a dead seal fresh water because they give themselves up as they thirst for fresh water. This is an offering for their spirit. Brody suggests that the Inuit resolve the tension between respecting and killing animals by a 'double approach'. They believe animals that are not hunted will decline in number. Therefore they need to respect the animal that is willing to die and also to hunt animals to ensure that their species will thrive (Brody, 1987). Rasing (1994) also

suggests that this justification of the hunt based on mutual dependence prevented over-hunting (p. 71).

In order to protect animals, the Inuit have to keep on hunting. This was what young people stated and was also explained by elders and some other community members. However, their reason was not based on the 'agreement' between hunters and animals. No young person I spoke with believed that animals gave themselves up to hunters. They said animals were likely to die when they became too numerous, not because hunters did not fulfil the agreement. That was the reason why they needed to keep on hunting. Animals giving up themselves was not a completely prevalent belief even among elders. I asked one elder if animals would disappear unless the Inuit hunted them. He paused for a long time and said "It's difficult to say. I can't say" (Fieldnotes, 25/05/02). Concerning animals' spirit, some said animals had spirit, some said they did not and some said 'I don't know'.[29] The cultural beliefs were no longer shared consistently among contemporary Iglulingmiut, including the elders' generation. Rasing (1994) argues that with less dependence on animals and with growing control over nature, hunting lost its spiritual dimension. Some taboos were known but followed for practical reasons. However, the core value of 'respect' was strongly identified among both young people and the older generation during my fieldwork.

*A Perception of the Hunting Community*

Despite the shared view of their identity as being associated with the land, there was a difference between the perceptions of the young people and older generations concerning Igloolik as a hunting community.

Adults insisted that a tradition of hunting was strong in Igloolik and everyone hunted and participated, including so-called 'weekend hunters' who hunted occasionally or on holidays from work. Many asserted there was no decline in hunting. The figure they provided for full-time hunters, who hunted intensively throughout the year, including winter, was between 30 and 50. A person from the HTA said more than 50 people usually applied for a polar bear hunt draw. The same person estimated that 20 people had the skills and experiences necessary to engage in the dangerous walrus hunt. During Paariaqtuqtut the young people had discussed the number of full-time hunters, and they also came up with around 40 to 50. However, their perception was that hunting was not strong in Igloolik. They added that about 100 people hunted regularly. They did not suggest that 'everyone hunted'.

According to Shephard and Rode (1996), about two-thirds of male Iglulingmiut were active in full- or part-time hunting in 1970. By 1990 a third of the Igloolik males over the age of 40 claimed to be hunters, but for the under 40s this fell to less than 10% (Shephard & Rode, 1996). As the criteria used to define 'being active in hunting' are not known, these figures should be treated cautiously. However,

assuming they are consistent in their approach, a decline is evident. They also suggest that not 'everyone' was active and that older people were perhaps more eager to retain their collective identity as hunters than young people.

## Relationships with Elders

It was noted earlier that, as Igloolik society changed externally and internally, the traditional mode of knowledge transfer began to fail. Elders had been crucial to knowledge transfer and in keeping the community united. They were to be respected and young people were supposed to learn from them by observing and listening to their stories. This section explores young people's relationships with elders and the link with knowledge transmission.

My findings confirmed that elders seemed to be increasingly absent from the young people's world. One apparent reason was that numerous children had to share a pair of grandparents[30]. The mother of one participant of Paariaqtuqtut had 15 children and one adopted child. Adoption was commonly practised and a person could often have six or seven siblings. If one had seven children and each had seven children, then the person would become a grandparent of 49 children. It would become very difficult to share knowledge because most of the transfer occurred in a small group, often on a one-to-one or one-to-two basis. They would need to live or spend a good length of time together to pass on the knowledge.

Obviously not all children could live with their grandparents in the same house. They thus became less in touch with each other across generations.

I met a young woman, in her early 20s, who had been working with the IBC for about a year. She was a director of TV programmes focused on Inuit culture and tradition. Despite being an Inuk brought up in Igloolik, she found the work challenging, because "I don't know much about elders and tradition. I don't talk with them, and I have no contacts with elders. So it is not easy for me to find and understand the subjects" (Fieldnotes, 22/05/02). Moreover, a lifestyle in town did not nowadays necessarily require traditional knowledge and community work, which further reduced the quality time generations spent together.

EB acknowledged that elders were experienced and knowledgeable in many fields and appreciated the fact that this knowledge was now being recorded in books and TV documentaries, saying that he "would be interested in watching them through documentary" (16 May 2002). It is ironic that EB wanted to share the elders' knowledge and experiences through TV rather than by taking the opportunities he had to learn directly from them[31].

## Findings

Elders' accounts, young people's perceptions and my own observations all suggest that the traditional mode of knowledge transfer was not fully functioning in Igloolik. As a result, some young people were not equipped with sufficient land-skills and knowledge to live off the land. This concerned elders and community members from a safety perspective as well as from the standpoint of future survival of their culture. They also associated young peoples' lack of land experiences with other social problems.

As schools were perceived to be failing to provide what the community felt was important, the IS programme was devised as a response, taking over some of the land-skills educational responsibilities traditionally located in the family. Their rationale was to guide young people to 'be and become an Inuk', the core of this being establishing a connection to the land. For elders and other community members, being on the land would deliver everything necessary to learn as a whole person, an Inuk. This involved land-skills, values, knowledge and other inter-related elements they would need in order to fully sustain their lives in contemporary Igloolik, not only physically but also emotionally and spiritually. The implication is that learning through the land would equip young people to cope with life in the midst of rapid social change.

Survival was defined collectively as well as individually, and identity was strongly tied to an awareness of connection to the land through time, place and the web of life. In general, people's lives in Igloolik were directly involved with the land. Their relationship with the environment was intimate, tangible and inseparable. They also believed their life and well-being were inseparable from the land. Amongst elders and the community members, the core social and cultural value was indicated as 'respect'. This applied to all relationships, including those with elders, animals, spirits, *sila* and the land, and by'respect' the Inuit mean 'sustainability' (H. Brody, personal communication, 20 July 2004). They placed themselves in the centre of a relational web instead of separating themselves from the environment or others in the community. Their educational programme also reflected this attitude to the environment. Their programme was highly flexible. They fitted themselves into the situation and altered learning contents according to the overall circumstances around them. Instead of seeking to change the environment, they sought to work with it. Their fundamental belief was that they could not control anything other than themselves.

Having examined the participants' accounts, it became clear that their views of the experiences and the value of the IS's programme tended to reflect the intentions of the organisers. The young people expressed the same value of 'being on the land' and their idea of being Inuit was also very similar to that of the elders. Some aspects of relations to animals, including 'respect', were expressed in younger

generations, although rituals might not be actively practised. The participants were willing to construct their identity around the land. However, this did not mean that they all liked constantly being on the land. One person who was positive about his experiences of the Paariaqtuqtut admitted that he would not last long on the land, and confirmed he was more of a 'town type'. Nevertheless, by participating in the IS's project, he affirmed his connection with his heritage and had an appreciation and pride in being part of it. This would be enough for him to hold a collective identity, even though he himself would not hunt or live on the land.

From this perspective, the course succeeded in delivering and affirming the Inuit's core values in a culturally uncertain society. On the other hand, the extent to which the practical skills were successfully passed down was unclear. Despite the elders' intention, it was obvious that the participants had not gained as much knowledge and skills as their instructors might have wished. Nonetheless, an important finding was that there were young people who wanted to pursue more land experiences and who wanted to strengthen an identity associated with the land. They were willing to learn and accept Inuit traditional values and rules. Under the current social situation, however, they had only limited opportunity to do so. The world of young Iglulingmiut in 2002 seemed to be more diverse and complex than Rasing (1994) described. They were struggling with 'what to become' amid a variety of conflicting expectations and desires.

Moreover, young people also recognised the trend towards disconnection from the land and the traditional Inuit image. Participants agreed that young Iglulingmiut in general preferred to stay in town and had little interest in associating with the land directly. The young Iglulingmiut admitted that they had little to do with elders who would previously have been the major sources of knowledge and skills. While some young people believed they needed to learn the land-skills and their traditional culture, some thought it was an individual's choice. They felt that Iglulingmiut did not really hunt any more, whereas older generations insisted that everyone hunted although it might not be all the time. For many young people, 'being on the land' may gradually turn into a 'mere experience' rather than 'part of life'.

Motivating young people who have already lost interest in learning Inuit values and going on the land would be a challenge for the IS. The extent to which the IS's mission to promote and preserve Inuit culture has been successful is not clear from this research. However, if Paariaqtuqtut and similar land-skills training initiatives offered by the IS were responses to a political failure to meet the Inuit's social and cultural needs, there was enough evidence to suggest that their programmes could help in resolving these issues. Brody (1983) states that importing a Western educational culture created "nervousness about the future and weakness in the present" (p. 210). The community needs both cash earners and meat providers and in this respect Inullariit's efforts have eased 'nervousness' in the community by committing to the continuation of their values and equipping people with land-skills.

Attempts such as the IS's were significant contributions in two ways: first in providing an alternative way to pass on knowledge, substituting traditional modes of transfer, and, secondly, by signalling that the Western form of education is not 'universal'. Ways of learning and teaching as well as curriculum content should be locally adequate and culturally appropriate. Perhaps the Nunavut Government could help sustain local educational efforts, since the formal school system alone is not meeting the educational needs of Iglulingmiut. At the same time Iglulingumiut would need to establish a framework to support non-wage-earning hunters in order to retain their connection with the land and to strengthen their future.

Contemporary life in Igloolik relies heavily on external assistance. In the current economic framework, the way of life in this large Arctic settlement cannot be maintained without such assistance. Almost everyone I met expressed concern that the assistance might not last forever. They felt that in order to secure a living without relying on external assistance, they had to know what the ancestors knew so that in theory, in the event of an extreme situation they could continue to suvrive.

In connection with the issue of sustainability, it was the Iglulingmiut's strong desire that their immediate environment continue to support them. The Iglulingmiut's way of life was rooted in certain relationships with animals and the wider environment. They relied on the environment for their physical and cultural survival. In order to protect and sustain animals, they believed they had to keep on hunting. Their

lifestyle and their relationship with the land were expressed as continuous, as they used the land that was used by their ancestors over generations and that would be used by future generations. An elder, warning that the Inuit are losing respect for wildlife, states in *Interviewing Inuit Elders* (Nunavut Arctic College et al., 1999) that "A long time ago Inuit would prepare for the future. Because we did not want to experience hardship we were told not to kill wildlife just for the sake of killing them" (p.33). The goal of sustainability is believed to be realised when people continue in a proper relationship with the land. In order to achieve this, people need knowledge of the land, proper treatment of the animals they hunt and respect and awe for *sila*, the universe and outer world. In this sense, the IS's programme was Iglulingmiut's response to questions about a sustainable future.

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Notes:

[1] This figure includes Umingmaktok and Bathurst Inlet, where the population is so small (counted as five as of 2001) that they do not have full service as communities.
[2] A crack on the sea ice formed by wind and current.
[3] Inuit denoted a specific group linked to the place where they inhabited using a word ending '-miut', meaning 'the people of'. A term 'Iglulingmiut', for example, literally means 'people of the place where the houses are' (Rasing, 1994, p. 8), but practically it refers to 'the people of Igloolik'. Each '-miut' formed a distinct group sharing hunting ground, knowledge base and intellectual and spiritual life (Rigby et al., 2000).
[4] In winter, a number of families concentrated in snowhouse camps created on land-fast ice, while others spent time hunting on the ground. In March and April, the respective hunting groups moved camp to near the floe-edge to hunt walrus and to engage in breathing-hole sealing. Small hunting camps continued to separate off during April to hunt ducks and seals. Groups dispersed most in summer. Some families moved inland, hunting caribou and birds or collecting eggs, while others stayed close to the shore for walrus, whale, seal and narwhal hunting. When winter approached, most families regrouped at the snowhouse camps and started a new cycle.
[5] Fur trading is still a part of today's economy in Igloolik. According to a renewable resource officer, in 2001 about 100 individuals brought in seal skins. The price of skin increased in 2002, and the officer expected a rise in the number of skins handled

(J. Kodlutsiak, May 23 2002).

[6] The DEW Line is a chain of 63 radar and communication systems stretching 3,000 miles from the northwest coast of Alaska to the eastern shore of Baffin Island opposite Greenland (Harris, n.d.), constructed to defend the USA and Canada during the tensions of the 'Cold War'.

[7] Recently dog teams have also been kept for races (J. MacDonald, personal communication, 7 Sep 2003). J. (John) MacDonald is one of the key informants of the research. He is introduced in detail later in the chapter.

[8] Duffy (1988) describes a general history of schooling and disruptive experiences for Inuit children at school and their scorn for parents as well as a traditional way of life.

[9] Until a day school grew and stabilised in Igloolik, people continued to send children to a residential school. Reasons for sending children away are complex. It could be due to encouragement by a Catholic priest, sometimes it was preferred because one's siblings were already there, and it could be a way to deal with orphans.

[10] I often saw not only mothers but fathers carrying babies in *amauti* .

[11] When dramatised for the commercial film, however, the original story lines were not exactly followed, according to John MacDonald (personal communication, 15 Oct 2003).

[12] The *Qaggiq* was instituted about ten years ago by the Igloolik's elders group, which is described in detail later. The celebration contained elements of ancient rituals traditionally practised by Iglulingumiut on the return of the Sun after the 24-hour darkness of winter (J. MacDonald, personal communication, 29 May 2003).

[13] Inullariit means 'real, or proper, Inuit', meeting cultural and social expectations and living a life in an Inuk way as opposed to a *Qallunaaq* (white person) way. Sometimes the term 'Inullariit Elders Society' was used in general correspondence with governmental agencies to identify it as a group of elders. In this paper, I used the term either the Inullariit Society (IS) or Inullariit, which is its officially registered name as a charity.

[14] The Oral History Project was officially started in 1986 with the cooperation of the Igloolik Research Centre. They have recorded a variety of aspects of life from Inuit elders. The ongoing project counted 494 files as of 27 May 2002 when I was in Igloolik.

[15] The younger Inuit could become members with the consent of a simple majority of the Society's membership.

[16] The IS called the course participants 'students'. I sometimes followed their usage in this thesis but it does not mean they were attending formal school.

[17] Generally the existence of a film crew will have an impact on any project as the filming requires special arrangements and people may become overly conscious. However the crew at Paariaqtuqtut was small with only one young camera person and his young assistant from Igloolik, and they documented events as they unfolded. They did not request special activities for the sake of filming. I consider their influence on the project was not great.

[18] Piled stones in a human-like form. It was used as a landmark and showed where animals were. There were many Inukshugaq standing for hundreds of years on the vast frozen land of Nunavut.

[19] *Qallunaaq* (plural form is *Qallunaat*) in its broad definition applies to everything

'Western' including technology, attitudes and morals. One day I asked Terry, who was explaining meanings of Inuktitut words, if I was not *Qallunaaq*, then in Inuktitut what was I? She pondered for a while, and said "You are Japanese".

[20] Simplistically, *sila* is understood as climate, air, universe, etc., but is truly a complex concept, forming the basis of the Inuit worldview. MacDonald (2000) states that *sila* as spirit was regarded as one of the most powerful and complex forces confronting Inuit in their day-to-day existence (pp. 35-36). Nuttall (1991), in a Greenlandic context, suggests *sila* links the individual self and the environment, the personal and the universal (p. 69). A person who lacks *sila* is said to be separated from an essential relationship with the environment that is necessary for social and psychological well-being. *Sila* also refers to a person's consciousness, intelligence and reasonable and sensible behaviour.

[21] I sometimes used the term 'hunting' to symbolise subsistence activities in general.

[22] Shephard and Rode (1996, p. 89) state that only 30-40% of the Igloolik community's energy needs were satisfied from the land food in 1969-1970. They indicate from evidence based on protein intake, blood lipid profiles and dietary records that the reliance of Iglulingmiut on land food has continued to decrease due to the growing availability of store food and the influence of the mass media, which portrays 'Western' food as both sophisticated and convenient. While most people purchased some food from stores and some young people hardly ate land food, my fieldwork suggests that a significant amount of land food was still consumed. For example, according to a committee member of HTA, each year the community consumed 185 walrus and the annual catch of fish and seals was comparable with walrus. They also took their quota of 16 polar bears. While I did not verify the figures the HTA member provided with other sources, I calculated the edible weight of these species, following the guidelines of Wolfe & Walker (1987). Assuming 50 working dogs which also required meat, each person older than five years old of age in Igloolik could be allocated about a kilo of meat a day, excluding caribou and other food sources. Rasing (1994) argues that with the decrease of the physical significance of land food, hunting has shifted its meaning from survival to identity. Though the cultural value of hunting was significant, providing land food appeared to be still vital for physical survival.

[23] Apart from their assurance, monitoring in other communities in the Arctic has shown that the sharing is usually among particular networks of households (Hovelsrud-Broda, 1999).

[24] Not only is land food culturally significant, but also the traditional way of eating it has been shown to be healthier and appropriate to the climate (Shephard & Rode, 1996). Shephard and Rode (1996) conclude that the "acculturation of diet" and a decrease of habitual physical activity caused an increase in obesity, hyperglycemia and hypercholesterolemia (pp. 121-122). They state that the risk of ischemic heart disease has been exacerbated by a reduced intake of omega-3 fatty acids, which are present in high concentrations in marine foods.

[25] Currently children are supposed to be taught in Inuktitut up to the third grade, but it depends on the availability of teachers who can use the language.

[26] This reversed sleep-wake pattern is also mentioned by Condon (1997) among youth in Holman.

[27] 'Knowing the land' is a phrase frequently used by Iglulingumiut I met. Their usage

of this phrase was similar to what Hobart (1993) identifies as that of Andean farmers and Dogon. The phrase implies the use of the land in accounts of their history as the land is not homogenous but finely differentiated, and 'knowing' brings skills learnt through practice and historically derived experience to bear on a particular matter on a particular occasion (Hobart, 1993, pp. 18-19).

[28] As mentioned earlier, finishing school no longer guarantees employment due to a limited number of jobs available, and going out of Igloolik to search for work is an option hardly any one would consider.

[29] It is stated in *Interviewing Inuit Elders* that among contemporary Inuit game is no longer assumed to have spirit, but animals are thought to be aware of what is done to them, and respect for wildlife is still a marked feature of Inuit culture (Nunavut Arctic College et al., 1999, p. 33).

[30] The population growth was mentioned earlier in this chapter and in Appendix 5a.

[31] MacDonald provides an insight by saying that young Inuit who are not well versed in their own language and culture are often reluctant to approach elders with questions because certain elders criticise them for knowing so little about Inuit culture (personal communication, 7 Sep 2003). A fear of being belittled by elders for not knowing culture is also expressed elsewhere (Nunavut Arctic College et al., 1999). However, whether this explanation fits EB is not certain. During the interview EB admitted a "big gap" between youths and elders, and said "most of us don't bother talking with elders about how they used to live" (16 May 2002).

# Chapter 9: Contrasting Cases; Endings as Beginnings

Each of the individual cases from Scotland, Alaska and Igloolik has been independently discussed in its respective chapter. This chapter examines the findings from each case and contrasts them across core social and cultural values in relation to the environment, and assesses the implications for education for sustainability.

## Groups and Programmes Overview

In order to explore commonalities and differences, this section overviews the main features of each case. Table 9.1 summarises the main characteristics of the study groups, while Table 9.2 illustrates the key features of the observed programmes.

Table 9.1 Study groups and programmes

| Organisers | Group's key characteristics | Observed programmes |
|---|---|---|
| Inullariit Society<br>*Igloolik, Nunavut, Canada* | A non-profit organisation established in 1993 to preserve and promote Inuit culture, language, heritage and traditional values. All Inuit individuals who are 55 years old and older are eligible for membership. Year-round land-skills training courses are among the activities the society conducts to achieve their goals. These are for young Inuit in Igloolik who are willing to learn. The society selects appropriate instructors from among elders. | Paariaqtuqtut ('meeting on the trail') |
| Russian Miisson School<br>*Russian Mission, Alaska, USA* | Of the Russian Mission population of 322 (March 2002), 120 enrolled from preschool to high school. Grades 6 – 12 are targeted by the programmes. Apart from the principal, four school staff, including two local men, mainly deal with actual classes. Almost all the students are Alaska Natives, mainly Yup'ik. The extensive outdoor programme started in 2000. | Middle School; various classes<br>High School; subject 'Subsistence' |
| Kodiak Island Borough School District / Native Village of Afognak<br>*Kodiak, Alaska* | KIBSD oversees 8 town schools and 8 village schools. Their Alutiiq/Unangax Regional Coordinator is responsible for the camp programme. The NVA is the federally-recognized tribal government representing the original inhabitants and their descendents of Afognak Island. They are open to participation from all students in Kodiak Island, and participants are chiefly Alaska Natives, mainly Aluttiiq. | The Academy of Elders / Science Camp 2002, 2001 |
| National Trust for Scotland<br>*Edinburgh, Scotland, UK* | An environmental conservation charity which aims to protect and promote Scotland's natural and cultural heritage by purchasing and maintaining important properties. For 22 years (as of 2002) they have organised volunteer work and conservation projects. NTS has recently started camps specifically for 16 and 17 year-olds from anywhere in the world. | Kintail Trailblazer |
| The Green Team<br>*Edinburgh, Scotland* | A charity to promote young people's learning through programmes centred around a conservation task. Two to three volunteers take turns to lead the programmes. It serves as a vehicle to achieve the JMA and the Duke of Edinburgh's Award. They call for participation throughout the region, and the participants are mostly white Scottish. | 2 residential programmes<br>2 one-day programmes |
| John Muir Award Gullane Group<br>*Gullane, Scotland* | A voluntary group of young people who are recruited at the youth club in Gullane to engage in a series of activities under the scheme of the JMA. The leader is a regional representative of JMA in East Lothian. | A series of meetings for JMA Explorer Award (second level) over 6 months |
| John Muir Award Tranent Group<br>*Tranent, Scotland* | A voluntary group formed by high school students in Tranent to engage in environmental activities under the JMA scheme. | A series of meetings for JMA Discovery Award (first level) over 5 months |

Table 9.2a Key features of the observed programmes: North American groups

| *f – female, m – male *YP – young people/persons *RM – Russian Mission *KIBSD – Kodiak Island Borough School District *NVA – Native Village of Afognak | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Observed programmes** | **Timescale and location** | **Participants** | **Style & structure** | **Programme features** |
| Paariaqtuqtut [Inullariit Society] | 2-11 May 2002 The northern part of Melville peninsula which people have traditionally used for subsistence or traveling. | A total of 66 people. From Igloolik;12 registered YP aged 17 – 31 (3f 9m), 6 official male instructors (elders) and their wives and families. | A journey. Camping using tents. Highly physically demanding. Framework - highly flexible | Departed from Igloolik and spent 3 days travelling over the frozen sea, river, land and snow to reach Nagvaak. Spent two days on return. Learnt from elders with real life events through travelling and living, including hunting, fishing, cooking and building an igloo. Specific elements taught included navigation, place names, hunting caribou and their treatment, building an igloo, safety, packing sleds, snow formation, weather reading, etc. |
| RM School: middle and high school classes (high school class was a caribou hunt) | 4-28 March 2002. Covered range -10 to 290 miles from RM | About 15 junior high students (aged 11-14, mixed gender), and five 10-12$^{th}$ grade (aged 16-18) male students for the hunt. 2 - 4 male instructors. | A journey involving camping often for a half day for junior high students. Moderate to highly physical. Combination of structured and flexible. | The whole curriculum was designed around subsistence activities, including ice fishing, rabbit snaring, firearm safety and usage, canoe handling, handling fish and animals' meat etc. Involved bivouac under –20C, a tent and a hut. Outings were combined with information search, essay writing and creating web pages. |
| The Academy of Elders / Science Camp 2001/ 2002 [KIBSD / NVA] | One week in July to August Qattani, Afognak Island, north of Kodiak | 15 - 20YP aged 8-17 (2001 - 5f 10m, 13 Alutiiq descendents: 2002 - 7f 13m, 16 Alutiiq descendents), 1 coordinator, 4 - 7 elders, 3 - 8 educators , 2 - 3 community members, NVA camp staff | Camped at a deserted island. Camp was well equipped and catered for. 2001 -traditional local food; 2002 - mainly Euro-American food Framework – 2001 flexible; 2002. Structured | YP flew to Kodiak then driven by boats to a deserted island where some of them had direct historical ties. Activities evolved around the capabilities of the participants such as setting a dead-fall trap, carving, drawing and weaving baskets, as well as daily life events such as a seal which was caught. The 2002 camp had a strong focus on individual science projects which were linked to Alutiiq culture and history. |

Table 9.2b Key features of the observed programmes: UK groups

| *f – female, m – male *YP – young people/persons *GT – the Green Team *JMA – the John Muir Award *NTS – the National Trust for Scotland | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Observed programmes** | **Timescale and location** | **Participants** | **Style & structure** | **Programme features** |
| The GT programmes<br><br>*Conducted in southern Scotland, including East Lothian | 9-10 Feb 2002<br>Wiston | 12 YP (7f 5m) aged 15-25, 3 volunteer leaders (1m, 2f but one left on the 2nd day) | Stayed at a lodge in countryside converted from old building. Catered. Programme structured. | Many ice breaking & team-building games. Created a large sculpture with living willow. Cut out a 'pest' shrub for less than 1 hour. The programme was cut short due to illness of one participant and a leader. |
| | 17 Feb 2002<br>Tranent | 8 YP (8f) aged 12-23, 3 volunteer leaders, 1 ranger | Joined by JMA Tranent Group and a local person. Structured. | Building steps for a path, tree planting. Only one step was half built.<br>Some ice breaking games. |
| | 6-7 Apr 2002<br>St Abb's | 6 YP (5f 1m) aged 13-19, 3 volunteer leaders, 4 rangers | Stayed at outdoor centre. Self-catering. Structured. | Cleaning the beach, beach exploration, footpath maintenance. Some games linked to creativity and the environment. |
| | 15 Sep 2002<br>Kirkliston | 13YP (11f 2m) aged 15-20, 2 volunteer leaders | A day visit to the site, west of Edinburgh. Structured. | Built 6 small wooden stools (they called 'perches') in a park to improve its recreational quality. The leaders were given a written instruction, but were not fully informed. |
| JMA Gullane<br><br>*Their working sites were in East Lothian | 17, 24 May, 17, 20 July, 20 Aug, 1 Oct 2001<br>Gullane & Aberlady | 9 YP at beginning down to 3 (2f 1m) at the end aged 15, 1to 4 leaders (2 paid), 1 ranger | Visits to local sites. Contents decided with YP. Programme flexible | YP discussed what they wanted to do in the local environment, learnt about the local area, did some conservation work, and tried to share their experiences with public. That involved planning meetings, cleaning up in a grove near the beach, visiting a nature reserve. Local ranger helped from time to time. |
| JMA Tranent<br><br>*Tranent is located in East Lothian | 9, 30 Oct, 1, 14, 22 Nov, 1 Dec 2001, 21 Feb 2002<br>Birsley Brae in Tranent | 4 YP (4f) aged 12 - 13, 2 leaders (1 paid), 1 helper (paid) | Visits local sites. Contents decided with YP. Flexible | The same principle as above. That involved planning meetings, visiting various sites of the local area, cleaning the woodland, planting trees, maintain the woodland, making presentation at the town library. |
| Kintail Trailblazer [NTS]<br><br>*Conducted in the Highlands | 17-24 Aug 2002<br>Kintail, Western Highlands of Scotland | 8 YP aged 16-17 (4f 4m), 2 leaders(f m), 2 rangers(m) | Stayed at a well-equipped accommodation near the project site. Self-catering. Moderate to highly physical. Programme structured | Participants gathered from various parts of the country in remote countryside. Structured around a conservation task of footpath maintenance. A day-off in the middle. |

## Context and Contents

Researchers increasingly point to the educational significance of direct contact with the natural and cultural heritage (Brookes, 2002; Higgins, 1996b, 2001; Higgins & Sharp, 2003; Nicol & Higgins, 1998b; White, 1998). Stating that the land is a reflection of culture and society and *vice versa*, it is argued that landscape shapes mindscape (Orr, 1992) and that a sense of the past, together with narratives, is tied to a sense of place (Malpas, 1999).

The organisers of the study programmes in Scotland addressed the importance of direct contact with a place and building a relationship with the environment. However, in these educational programmes, the issue of place was not necessarily related to everyday life or historical heritage, as was demonstrated in Chapter 5. That there is a link between a personal identity and an engagement with a particular place was implied by some of the programme organisers, but the notion was not consciously or actively integrated into the programmes. On the contrary, for all three cases in North America culture and history were inseparable in the programmes. They conducted the programmes in places that people have used for generations. They intended to 'bond' people with the land, which meant including cultural, historical, biological, geographical and meteorological knowledge.

Some of the study programmes in Scotland originated with organisers' environmental concerns and educational passions, but the attempts are

institutionalised and offer experiences that fit into guidelines of national educational schemes. As shown in Chapter 5, the most popular motivation for young people to participate was to acquire nationally recognised educational awards to boost their CVs for a future career. Three of the four groups in Scotland intended to involve locals to a certain extent, but this did not happen to any significant degree. Interviews with parents showed no evidence that they considered their own or other local people's involvement to be important and/or necessary. This may be partly because these are institutionalised enterprises; local residents did not feel enough 'ownership' of the projects to get involved. It may also indicate that locals in these places feel remote from their natural environment.

On the other hand, the Inullariit Society, Kodiak Island Borough School District / Native Village of Afognak and Russian Mission School all had a clear intention to involve local communities in the programmes. They saw that their goals could only be achieved in the long term through collaboration with communities. The Inullariit Society itself represented the traditional values of the community, and other community members' contributions were clear from my observations and interviews. For the camps in Kodiak, involvement of community members was successful and increasing. The Russian Mission School is an institution, still foreign to the community, but the organisers' desire of stronger community participation was evident and there were signs that community members were taking a more active role.

Concerning the contents, the programmes in Scotland were based around conservation tasks combined with contrived team-building and environmental games, except for one group, which had no orchestrated game activities. Often these games were independent of locale, excluding aspects of culture and tradition. However, it could be argued that including 'context-free' games itself may indicate their current educational culture. Some groups demonstrated a degree of flexibility in programme structure and consulted the participants in planning activities, whereas other groups had a fairly rigid structure and the participants were expected to do what was already planned. All groups were extremely careful about Government Health and Safety Regulations and of the general public safety concerns. As a result some groups could not be involved in overnight activities. Apart from a few exceptional issues such as littering, my analysis shows that most of the activities had no direct implications for their daily lives. Nonetheless, the organisers aimed to nurture certain attitudes among the participants through these activities, which are discussed in the next section.

Among the North American cases, the most rigidly operated programme still appeared more flexible compared to the Scottish groups. No groups used orchestrated team-building and environmental games and the flow was natural, involving real life events. They all embraced an aspect of journeying and living on the land. As the Russian Mission School operated within their classroom

framework, they planned ahead of time and sessions tended to be short; they extended the sessions as necessary and included up to three weeks' camping, where much greater flexibility was shown without detailed plans in advance. Everything they did had direct relevance to daily life and the participants were encouraged to continue using skills they learnt after the programmes on their own and with their families. The only exception was the Kodiak case, where for many participants the camp setting and activities were different from their usual environment. Nonetheless, the young participants were expected to demonstrate the acquired cultural values, such as respect for elders, in their daily life.

## Programme Rationales

### Background

In addressing the necessity of building a bond between participants and the environment, their respective social and cultural backgrounds were explored as part of the programme rationales.

In all the North American groups, disruption of the knowledge transfer became apparent. Many young people had had few significant experiences on the land compared with the previous experiences of their adult community members. Consequently in Igloolik and Russian Mission it was perceived that young people lacked the skills and knowledge necessary to sustain their lives for the future. In

Kodiak, sustaining livelihood was implicitly linked to knowledge transmission, but the focus was more to do with cultural revitalisation in addition to good academic performance in science. Cultural and personal identity and pride were also given significant attention in all cases in North America, and programmes were linked to young people's social problems including loitering, suicide, substance abuse and violence.

In Scotland, on the other hand, the programme organisers were concerned about environmental degradation and its links with people's lifestyle and attitude to the environment. In particular, young people were perceived not to care about environmental issues, and this perception was at the base of the programme organisers' motivations. Like the organisers in North America, their concern lay in the people's disconnection and disengagement from nature, but this was for different reasons from those of the North American organisations mentioned above. The concern to link environmental issues with detachment from nature is widely shared among many Western commentators (Abbey, 1984; Lindholdt, 1999; Orr, 1994; Russell, 1999; Thomashow, 1995; J. Q. Wilson, 1993). In addition, some organisers in Scotland suggested that social problems among young people could be avoided if they had something worthwhile to occupy their time relating to personal and social development. The North American groups also addressed social problems, but they perceived these problems as more closely linked to the relationships with the environment, whereas in Scotland such links were not mentioned.

**Reasons for Programmes**

*Connection as a Purpose or as a Means*

People in Russian Mission and Igloolik wished to provide young people with the knowledge to live off the land, which encompassed a broad range of subjects as defined by Western education. But in reality the various aspects of knowledge and skills were seamlessly integrated to serve a specific purpose (such as hunting a caribou), and the entire system of knowledge is what these organisers wanted the young people to learn. A practical dimension was explicit, but this knowledge system is deeply linked to their identity and heritage. Bonding with the land was the central focus and it also had wider implications for their well-being. In Kodiak, acquisition of subsistence skills was within a conceptual context rather than a practical one, but experiencing and learning 'about' subsistence was viewed as essential in order to retain their identity through understanding their heritage. It has to be noted, however, that while this research partly contributed to verifying the link between 'connection' and identity, it has not yet undergone as extensive a scrutiny as some of the Western assumptions concerning natural experiences.

The organisers in Scotland ultimately wanted to promote pro-environmental behaviour among participants through an attachment with, and love for nature. They viewed building intimate relationships with the natural environment as vital to achieving their goal, but my observations (Chapter 5) show that on some occasions

the attempt to create a bond was unclear in the design of the whole project as well as in its operation. However, the assumption of this linear causal relationship that connection with the environment would naturally lead to pro-environmental attitudes, and that the linkage can be fostered by nature experiences, (Gray, 1993; Kimmel, 1999) has been challenged as too simplistic (Gillet et al., 1991; Haluza-Delay, 1999; Hanna, 1995; Russell, 1999).

*Personal and Social Development*

As part of the rationale for the programmes, each programme organiser had concerns about young people in their society, and the Personal and Social Development (PSD) of youth was considered as integrated with an issue of bonding with the land. However, PSD was treated as an individual matter in Scotland, and not necessarily linked to a cultural identity or viewed with respect to a community, whereas for North American groups PSD was a matter of one's survival as a cultural being tied to a community. A clue to understanding this difference may lie in psychological and anthropological research, as discussed below.

Markus and Kitayama (1991) suggest that mainstream psychology continues to rest on a mono-cultural view that sees the individual as an "independent, self-contained, autonomous entity who comprises a unique configuration of internal attributes (e.g. traits, abilities, motives and values) and behaves primarily as a consequence of these internal attributes" (p. 224). They label this the 'independent self' and claim that it

is typical of Western cognition. In contrast, they claim that many Asian cultures insist on the fundamental relatedness of individuals, which they call the 'interdependent self'. Social harmonious relationships are fundamental to a view of the self and determine one's behaviour and the meanings of experience. In this case, the self becomes most meaningful and complete when it is situated in an appropriate social relationship (Lebra, 1976; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Nisbett, 2003). This finding challenges many educational theories, which often fail to incorporate cultural diversities, assuming a 'Western model' as universal[1].

It is generally assumed by Western commentators that self-esteem could be raised by personal achievements and success (Higgins & Nicol, 2002; Hopkins & Putnam, 1993; Parker & Meldrum, 1973; Scottish Office Education Department, 1993c). However this may be solely based on a view of 'independent self' (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). My observations and other field data, supported by literature (Brody, 1981, 1987; Caulfield, 1997; Crowell & Laktonen, 2001; Crowell & Leer, 2001; Fienup-Riordan, 1986, 1990; Kawagley, 1995, 1999; Kawagley et al., 1998; Markus & Kitayama, 1991), show that the indigenous peoples in North America perceive themselves as belonging within a web of relationships with the natural, spiritual and human world. If the young people in the North American study groups constitute 'interdependent self', then it follows that PSD would be achieved in the context of community and through a relationship with the land. Personal achievement and success may not be enough for an individual to gain self-esteem

within these cultures. How the achievement is viewed by others in the light of their collective values, and a sense of their contribution to the community would be far more important for PSD.

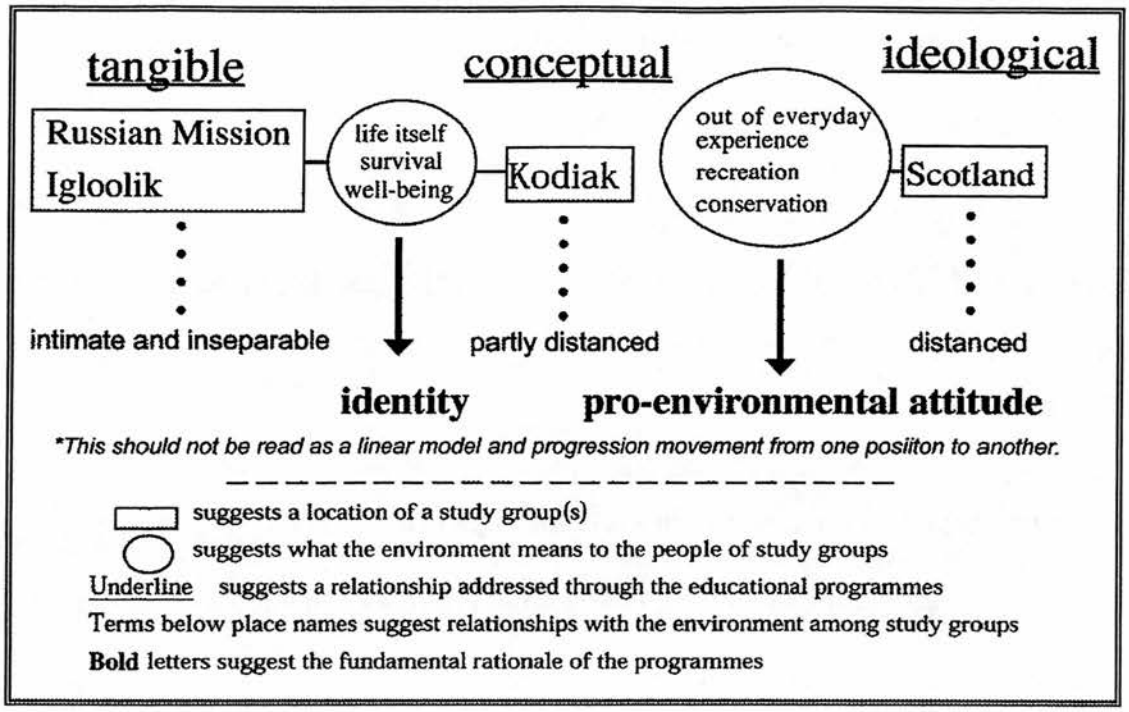
## Social and Cultural Values in Relation to the Environment

### Meaning of the Environment and Relationships

Previous chapters discussed people's relationships with their environments in respective settings. Figure 9.1 summarises the priorities in people's relationships with the environment in each site, as well as the relationships that the programmes appeared to address at the time of my research. The key appears at the bottom half of the figure under the dotted line, and this section overviews the findings as an explanation of the figure.

Presentation in this format carries a risk of the programmes and relationships being viewed as fixed and static. However, it must be noted this analysis came from the data I acquired with specific groups at each site, and should be recognised as indicative of the context instead of definitive. Moreover, I take a stance that culture is under constant construction, and society changes as an outcome of an unceasing process of cultural production (Fox, 1995). The educational programmes I observed were a response to the perceived social and cultural transformation.

Figure 9.1 Summary of the priorities in relationships with the environment




Concerning the people's relationships with their environment, I used the terms 'intimate and inseparable', 'partly distanced' and 'distanced'. These are integrated descriptions emergent from my perspective of these people's relationships with the environment. A guideline of analysis regarding 'distance' from the environment is based on the following concepts:

1. Physical: whether daily food and water directly come from the land or their origin is uncertain; daily interaction with the land; whether the interaction is directly linked with physical survival
2. Intellectual: whether knowledge about the land is intimate and in detail
3. Separate or part of nature: whether one considers oneself as separate from or part of nature

4. Emotional: a sense of attachment to the natural environment (this has many layers from 'real' places to 'non-existing' environment created in one's imagination)
5. Historical: identification of generational relationship with the land
6. Spiritual[2]: an awareness of and fusion with a power or principle greater than the self (Stringer & McAvoy, 1995).

Some perspectives involve two spheres of either 'individual' or 'collective'; the relationship is personal (e.g. the pleasure an individual gains by recreational walking) or a matter of a community or a cultural group (e.g. an identity as an entire group of people). These spheres do not necessarily indicate 'distance' from the environment, but different meanings of the relationships.

In the context specific to this study, it became clear that people of Russian Mission and Igloolik have an intimate relationship with the environment, physically, intellectually, emotionally, historically and spiritually. (However, many residents expressed increasing distance among young people.) Often the relationship extends to collective significance. In Kodiak, though the extent varies among individuals, subsistence is still practised, and the connection felt by the people in my study group was especially strong emotionally and historically. My analysis showed that among these three groups, their environment and their subsistence strongly impacted on, and indeed often defined, their identity. In this respect, the environment is interpreted

as 'the self', which is in line with a Basso's (1996) claim that for the Western Apache people "selfhood and placehood are completely interwined" (p. 86). The awareness of the self is interwoven with a connection to the land, with a concept of time (past and future) and with the wider world including the spiritual dimension. They perceived their life and well-being as inseparable from the land.

Adult members of Igloolik and Russian Mission spoke of 'the land' as a specific place rather than a concept of the general environment. They recognised 'their land', which they have used over generations, and 'their animals', with which they have special relationships. They emphasised the distinction between 'their animals' and animals in general. It is not a claim of 'possession' or 'ownership' in a Western legal sense; they were voicing the relationship to the species harvested on the particular land which their ancestors had used, based on the principle of cycling (Brody, 1987; Fienup-Riordan, 1986; Simeone & Miraglia, 2000). According to their traditional belief, if a person takes fish or game at a certain site, and treats them with respect, the animals will return to the place for the person's offspring. "The relationship with the land is very important" , said Inuk elder Ivalu during an interview (15 May 2002), in contrast with the idea of human domination of or ownership of the environment. The generational cycle principle, which nevertheless seems to be weakened, dictates certain rules: that which is received must be given away; the land that cares for them must be cared for in turn. Fiennup-Riordan (1986) describes this as a reciprocal relationship because the land is

valued in itself, as well as for what it can produce (p. 328). The core social and cultural value in relation to the environment, therefore, was expressed as 'respect' among the peoples of the three study groups in North America. Within the relationships that each educational programme seems to address, this value was clearly 'tangible' in Igloolik and Russian Mission, and has practical implications for their daily life, whereas in Kodiak the relationships addressed through programmes were constructed from stories, elders' experiences and documents. Therefore, in Figure 9.1 it is termed as 'conceptual'.

Despite advocates' efforts in the West to promote integration between the environment and the self, this study shows that in the Scottish case studies the two are perceived as separate, and they appear to have a distanced relationship. The environment is where people take a break from their daily lives to have a recreational 'nature experience'. This is a "visitor's" attitude versus "dweller's" (Tuan, 1974b). Contrary to North American groups, the participants in the Scottish case studies did not perceive of any direct life commitment to the environment. Based on a certain ideology the Scottish organisers designed educational programmes to create an attitude to the other - the environment. Thus, in Figure 9.1 the relationship is described as 'ideological' without concrete and perceived connection between their daily life and the environment.

To the organisers in Scotland, the environment was not necessarily specific but more of a general concept. They hoped to nurture a positive attitude among young people to 'any' environment on the planet. By 'pro-environmental', the organisers meant an attitude aiming to 'care, help, protect and preserve' the environment, which they also suggested were natural outcomes of 'respect'. To convince young people of the need to care for the environment, the organisers tended to appeal to their self-interest. Pálsson (1999) calls this attitude "paternalistic protection" (pp. 69-70) where, in his analysis, humans are masters of nature and adopt a 'caring' mentality (he does not discuss a notion of 'respect'). During the interviews some participants in Scotland indicated that they became more interested in the general environment. However, when they expressed a sense of attachment and a closer relationship with the environment, it was usually towards a specific place rather than the environment in general or as a concept.

A notion of 'respect' seemed to be one of the key values in relation to the environment in all study groups. However, as the following section illustrates, this same word can be expressed differently in different worldviews.

**'Respect' in Different Worldviews**

Like the programme organisers in this study, in order to transform attitudes into the truly environmental, researchers in the UK have stressed that environmental education must encourage 'respect' for nature (Cooper, 1991; Higgins, 1996a;

Rodger, 1993). In a larger Western philosophical framework, philosopher Paul Taylor (1989) attempted to establish the grounds for humans respecting nature as a moral principle. In the book *Respect for Nature*, he distinguishes 'respect' from 'care and concern for living things', and states that 'care' without understanding of ethical obligation is not a genuine respect for nature. Plumwood (1993) is of a similar view that respect for others means to not treat them as an instrument for the carer's satisfaction (p. 167). Rodger (1993) provides five categories of human attitude in relation to the environment: humans as users, managers, protectors, admirers and respecters, suggesting that only 'respecters' value the environment in its own right and for its own sake, and truly acknowledge its intrinsic value (Rodger, 1993, p. 13). He accepts but discourages the instrumental and 'anthropocentric' views. As mentioned in Chapter 5, I consider that a dichotomy between anthropocentrism and biocentrism linked to environmental attitudes is not necessarily helpful. This idea is revisited in the next section.

Rodger (1993) states that 'using' the environment as a resource for "the maintenance of life and health", even with prudence, is not "necessarily wrong" and is "scarcely avoidable" but is "insufficient as a basis for a fully responsible treatment of the environment" (p. 12). Having this position of 'users and managers' at the end of the scale and 'respecters' another, he sends a signal that he is reluctant to accept an idea of utilising the environment and that by 'respect' he means 'minimum use' or 'non-use'. Similarly Taylor (1989) promotes a concept of 'preservation', which is

to protect nature from both 'present and future consumption'. On the other hand, concerning 'conservation', he writes that if its purpose is for "future exploitation of wildlife for the enjoyment of outdoor sports and recreation, such conservation activities are not consistent with respect for nature" (Taylor, 1989, p. 185). He thus implies showing 'respect' is closer to 'preserve' and 'protect' which is equivalent to 'non-use' or at least 'minimum use'. By 'using' the authors may consider 'abusing' or 'diminishing biodiversity'; but based on the way they construct the argument, there is a possibility of interpretation that they place 'using the environment' away from 'respect'.

Deep Ecology appears to send a similar message. This environmental philosophy suggests that humans "have no right to reduce this richness and diversity of life forms except to satisfy vital needs" (Naess, 1989, p. 29), but to 'reduce the richness and diversity' is open to individual interpretation. When Naess (1973) uses the phrase "biospherical egalitarianism in principle" (p. 95), he explains that the 'in principle' clause is inserted because "any realistic praxis necessitates some killing, exploitation, and suppression" (p. 95), implying that ideal praxis does not involve killing. This indicates passive and reluctant attitudes about taking other life forms while acknowledging it is inevitable. To live in harmony with nature, being one with nature, and acknowledging intrinsic values of every life form are important conceptually, but to delineate what these ideologies mean in practice within existing Western worldviews, one could face extreme interpretations, countless moral

dilemmas and competing claims. In the context of various worldviews, Deep Ecology seems to be more suitable in a Western framework, and it may fit better as a personal standpoint rather than universal position.

The concept of 'respect' can be expressed quite differently among indigenous peoples compared with the understanding of the term in Western societies. In line with Rodger's (1993) perspective, the peoples of the North American study groups seem to match the 'respecters' criteria in that they maintain close relationships with other humans and the rest of the environment of which they are part (p. 14). However, a link implied in Rodger's and Taylor's argument between 'respect' with 'preservation' or 'non-use' does not apply equally to them. In the context of Yup'ik, Fienup-Riordan (1990) interprets that 'respect' includes love and fear, and this is a term to describe a relationship with humans, animals and parts of the natural world (p. 168). Brody (1987) analyses an Inuit's understanding of the world, and concludes "for them, respect is a system of wildlife management that includes harvesting" (p. 77). For Yup'ik, Inuit and Alutiiq, the success of a hunt depends on humans' 'respect' for animals as well as all parts of the environment. Nonetheless, animals are their food, and the motivation for hunting falls into Rodger's anthropocentric position, and this accords more with 'users and managers' criterion rather than with that of 'respecters'.

Linked to a concept of 'respect', the term 'care' was often used among the indigenous peoples during the fieldwork. However the term was expressed concerning the proper treatment of the killed animals, meat and bones. From interview accounts in Igloolik, it was clear that by 'taking care of animals' they meant to 'keep on hunting'. We owe our existence to some other life. A sense of 'being part' of the environment would not let anyone escape from this fact, no matter how much one respects the natural world. Indeed the deep sense of respect among indigenous peoples for the natural world comes partly from this very fact and indicates a direct connection between their life and the natural world. I am not suggesting that one way of thinking is better than the others, but confirming that a certain concept in a certain culture has a limitation in being applied in other worldviews and people's relationships are expressed very differently across cultures.

**Anthropocentrism and Biocentrism**

The complexity of the concepts of anthropocentrism and biocentrism was mentioned in Chapter 5. It was explained that unless the terms are used in quoted phrases, this study uses them as perspectives rather than philosophies. As a philosophical base, one may stand in one or another position to look at the environment, but as perspectives one person can have either stance depending on the context. However, it is very popular in Western environmental discourse to state that environmental problems are due to an unduly anthropocentric outlook on nature (Dobson, 1995; Martell, 1994; Pratt et al., 2000), and at the same time encourage learning from

indigenous peoples in general (Simmons, 1993). In this respect, it is worth looking at the issue from the North American groups' standpoints. This discussion is closely linked to the issue of 'respect' because biocentrism advocates connecting these two together. But cannot one respect nature and still be anthropocentric?

This discussion revolves around different definitions of the two terms, and there is a wide range of literature debating the meanings and implications. This section sketches only some major threads of the environmental ethics debate. The philosopher O'Neill (1993) defines 'anthropocentric' as treating the non-human world as having only instrumental value for human satisfaction (p. 2), and Pratt et al. (2000) explain anthropocentrism as the non-human world's value lying in its ability to serve humans' ends. Dobson (1995) considers the definition of Pratt et al. (2000) as 'strong anthropocentrism', as distinguished from 'weak anthropocentrism', which means, to him, 'human-centred'. On the other hand, a wide range of meanings of 'biocentric' seems to depend how non-sentient beings in the world should be treated. The general definition, however, is 'it has value in its own right', with debate centring on what 'it' should encompass.

Indigenous peoples associated with my study groups are first and foremost concerned with their own survival. When they hunt and fish, they usually take as much as they can in the circumstances. In principle, they do not just go outside to enjoy themselves. They certainly enjoy being on the land, but usually with the purpose of

hunting, fishing and gathering[3]. They are thrilled to hunt, and express a great joy in catching fish. They boast of the size of catch with each other[4]. They would oppose environmental destruction because it would disturb their spiritual ties with the ancestors and destroy animals directly and indirectly, which has serious implications for their life. More so in the past than now, they paid respect to animals and other life forces because they believed animals would not come to them unless they practised respect. These descriptions may be classified as anthropocentric thinking.

On the other hand, these people usually do not consider animals to exist just for human beings. Hunting them is one thing, but considering the animals solely for human use is another. Traditionally hunting was a human's obligation, and people had to kill animals once an agreement between the two parties was made. This belief is no longer carried consistently among members of contemporary society, but it is still held by some individuals. These North American peoples believe that humans are part of the world just like any other creatures, and there are spirits that are 'super-humans'. Everything on Earth, living or non-living, has an awareness, which deserves respect from humans. These descriptions seem to fit into biocentric attitudes.

Having studied various discussions on environmental ethics, I conclude that the anthropocentrism-biocentrism dualism is constructed within Western experiences and

cannot be applied to cultures with different worldviews. For example, as part of the justification for being a vegetarian, the UK-based sociologist Martell (1994) extensively defends why moral consideration is not extended to plants and other inanimate beings based on the existence of sentience or capacity for sensory experience. However, many Yup'ik Elders I have met would argue that plants can also feel pain and they would be watching who did what and how, and that it is just not yet 'discovered', like many other things, in the Western scientific framework, which has developed only in the past 300 years[5]. Moreover, vegetarianism is unthinkable in locations such as those inhabited by the North America study groups where a range of vegetables does not grow. Furthermore, Taylor's (1989) distinction between moral agents and subjects, where moral agents have the capacity to treat subjects morally or immorally, is not relevant to the worldviews of indigenous peoples either. In their worldviews, seas, wind, animals, rocks, etc., all have spirits and awareness as well as power to cause negative impact on humans. A discussion of morality in the West, be it biocentric or anthropocentric, seems to place humans in the centre with more power, which does not apply to the peoples of the study groups in North America.

Anthropocentrism and biocentrism are important to distinguish as perspectives, but from the discussion above, it may not be appropriate to debate their suitability without consideration of the social and cultural contexts, particularly as the meanings can be manipulated depending on the point that one wants to make. As suggested

above and in Chapter 5, it can be argued that one can have both perspectives and that one can respect nature even if one holds an anthropocentric position.

**Relational Change: Social or Ontological**

Earlier sections in this chapter summarised peoples' relationships with their environment and the meaning of the land to them in the context of this study. Attitudes toward the environment are not fixed (Altman & Chemers, 1984; Tuan, 1971), and a relational distinction among groups seems to suggest a continuum, which hypothesises a connection between a human-nature relationship and social change. To what extent are the differences in relationships with the environment attributable to cultural or ontological factors rather than to social change and modernisation?

This study does not claim to provide a comprehensive answer to this question. What it can offer in this regard is the observation that relationships appear to start changing when social changes occur (as all the North American cases demonstrate). When people cease to get food directly from the land, separation from the environment begins, and, from physical and intellectual perspectives, people become distanced from the environment. Nevertheless, as long as a bond with the environment is linked to a concept of identity, a notion of intimate relationship can be revived and conceptually constructed even when people are increasingly dependent on goods from a supermarket instead of the fish and animals they catch.

There are many layers in relationships with nature; particularly among various indigenous peoples, their cultural norms are often concerned with the non-empirical world such as in relation to the spirits of the ancestors and other life forces (Carmichael et al., 1994).

Is it hypothetically possible that 50years from now, with further modernisation, immigration and migration, Yup'ik and Alutiiq people could be so distanced from their land that they became unable to construct a bond with it? Would then the 'preserved' land turn into a place for learning heritage, recreation or an experience of the wildness as it is now in the UK? I argue below that social change is not the sole determining element in the complete alteration of people's relationships with the land.

Merchant (1981) takes the position that as the European medieval society changed drastically from 'organic' to 'mechanical', so did people's attitudes towards the environment (Chapter 2). She regards the whole transformation as a cultural change. Altman and Chemers (1984) claim that a dramatic cultural shift is possible even during the course of a generation. They assert that environmental orientations would continue to change particularly in fast-moving modern societies (Altman & Chemers, 1984, p. 29), whereas Glacken (1967) states that rapid change in religious dogmas brings a radical shift in environmental values. Moreover, Nash (2001) suggests advances in technology contribute to the dramatic shift.

Is cultural change of this magnitude happening among the peoples of Alaska and Nunavut? This study certainly showed an increasing Western influence on their society and culture, in particular among the young people, and lifestyles have become more Western than traditional. On the other hand, it also became clear from this study that their worldviews, including those of young people, have not been completely westernised. While the present study also found an 'ontological discontinuity' among these peoples, Yup'ik scholar Kawagley (1999), who admits the discontinuity, asserts that their way of life will persist "as long as the Yupiaq people's spirituality is intact" (p. 19). My study showed that part of their traditional lifestyle, such as subsistence, remains both from physical necessity and through their own desire. The people's spirit in Kodiak had endured the acculturation policy started nearly 250 years ago. The appearance of such programmes in this research can be interpreted as a sign of resilience, addressing their cultural continuity and identity.

Cultures in the study group sites in North America could experience ontological and epistemological change as in the West during the Enlightenment, but there are important differences between the two. The West is claimed to have had its dualistic roots in ancient thought (Callicott, 1983; Glacken, 1967, 1999; Plumwood, 1993; Spelman, 1988; Taylor, 1989) and, broadly speaking, Judaism and Christianity (which some suggest contributed to the exploitation attitude to nature) are their

religious backbone and cultural foundation (Altman & Chemers, 1984; Brody, 2001). Most of all, the elements claimed to have transformed medieval Europe emerged from within their own society. As for the study groups in North America, their traditional beliefs are holistic, and the change and new way of thinking, including religions and modernisation, were all brought in externally and often forcibly. European forces have damaged or greatly influenced native cultures but were not successful in completely uprooting or transforming them.

As a case in point, my home country Japan can offer a useful contribution to the discussion. A non-dualistic framework prevailed in the pre-industrial culture of Japan. Change was brought in from Europe in the 19th century and was encouraged internally, so much so that Japan is now seen to be one of the most economically developed nations in the world. It appears to enjoy its modernity under the very strong influence of Western thought and values. Senda (1999), however, describes Japan as having the "superficial dressing of European thought", without a domestically generated ideological shift (p. 54). The impact of industrialisation did not seem to fundamentally change people's worldviews. Japanese in general still hold to their beliefs in deities and spirits, and deities are to be found in all aspects of nature (Senda, 1999). Traditional relationships with the natural environment, including wildlife harvesting and assemblies to revere seasonal natural phenomena, are still practised in Japanese daily life, though perhaps in a reduced and sometimes ceremonial manner. Buddhism, Shinto and Zen, which all express an intimate and

inseparable relationship with nature, are still part of people's mindsets (Nakamura, 1999; Senda, 1999).

Advancing technology, fast-paced modern life and overall social change may affect, but do not necessarily transform the ontological position and the way people relate to the environment. In their edited book *Sacred Sites, Sacred Places*, Carmichael et al. (1994) summarise the thoughts of contributors and state that "the significance of sacred sites can transcend cultural changes and assimilations, and even religious conversions" (p. 3). A study conducted with 153 Latino immigrants in the US concluded that 'acculturation' did not alter their initial environmental attitude and worldviews (Schultz, Unipan, & Gamba, 2000). In the context of learning from other cultures' judgements in terms of environmental ethics and values, Attifield (1983) states that;

> we could not, with conviction, borrow or endorse (or imitate others who endorse) judgment of other cultures unless there were some basis in our existing patterns of moral thought (or a basis in moral thought as such) from which, whether by analogy or in some other way, we could move so as to credit these judgments as meriting our conviction. (p. 224)

The same argument can be made of Inuit, Yup'ik, Alutiiq or for that matter Japanese societies. The imported ideas remain irrelevant (or have only limited relevance), as they do not share a basis with respective vernacular worldviews.

Following a modern environmental discourse, Pálsson (1999) observes that "westerners increasingly think of themselves as an integral part of nature" (p. 78). Whether or not Western societies can achieve the integration of humans and other life forces (and how this would be manifested) without a significant change in their worldview remains to be seen. Whether such environmental connections have a linear relationship with behaviours is a separate issue (Callicott, 1983; Tuan, 1974a). The ontological intimacy that the Japanese hold with nature, for example, has not stopped them defiling sacred mountains by dumping wastes or altering the landscape causing large-scale environmental destruction.

**Landscape Alteration**

Linked to the discussion in the previous section, what may have great significance concerning a connection with the land is the long-term physical alteration of the landscape. The human relationship with the environment is not one-way, and Fienup-Riordan (1986) states that environmental changes set the stage for cultural transformation.

The programmes in Scotland did not explicitly address cultural and historical heritage (Chapter 5). Many reasons could be considered, including a sense of remoteness between heritage and modern lifestyle, and frequent immigration and migration which made local heritage irrelevant to organisers and participants. A drastic change of landscape could be one of the reasons to emphasise this sense of

remoteness. It may be difficult for a person to be imaginative enough to create a programme to bond people with the land in a town while integrating the cultural and historical heritage. The landscape around the towns of Tranent or Gullane, for example, would have looked very different 300 years ago when there was more wildlife, less people and housing, few artificial building materials, and subsistence agriculture and fishing. But now in the newly built environment with asphalt roads and a power station in sight, the group from Tranent worked on a patch of woodland near the motorway against a background of constant car noise.

On the other hand, standing on the land just outside of the community of Igloolik and Russian Mission, what gives a strong sense of connection with the past is its landscape, which has probably been largely unaltered over thousands of years. In this 'unchanged' landscape, however, there are many marks of human activities. Over the frozen tundra out of Igloolik, many *inuksugait*[6] stand in the wind which were built by their ancestors with important land information embedded in them. A similar set of animal species and the river have sustained people's lives in Russian Mission over generations. If landscape shapes mindscape (Basso, 1996; Orr, 1992), this situation makes it much easier to see the connection between now and the past; this establishes a bond between a person and the landscape through perceived cultural and historical heritage.

This is a fundamental difference in terms of a relationship with the environment. In industrialised Western nations, people may care for the environment but the 'care' consists of separating, controlling and preserving, and it may mean creating it as they wish it to be. On the other hand, the ancestors of the study groups in North America did use the environment for their living, and were never separate from it, but they did not alter it in the way of Western nations (Brody, 2001; Young, 1999).

## Implications for Education for Sustainability

### Irrelevant Frameworks

Previous chapters showed a range of different thinking about achieving 'sustainability', depending on the worldviews and the location of people's environment. In the light of various frameworks suggested for EFS in the Western nations, I examined certain programmes in Scotland (Chapter 5), and indicated that they have potential to positively contribute to EFS. The study analysis shows that the Scottish organisers had intentions and concerns oriented towards sustainability, but their programmes could be developed more fully in aspects of environmental ethics, engagement in the local environment, quality of participation and the understanding of the local and global environmental impact of people's decisions.

Examining the North American programmes in the frameworks I used for the Scottish groups is not appropriate because these frameworks do not address the

cultural and social contexts that formed a central part of the North American study groups. The Western frameworks are outcomes of many years' scrutiny and discussions built on predecessors' endeavours to find a suitable way of relating sustainability to their social and cultural situation. The frameworks are based on Western perspectives and values, and their target is people who share similar worldviews and lifestyles, vocabularies and concepts. Educational frameworks have to be culturally and socially appropriate to be meaningful (Alaska Native Knowledge Network, 1999; Barnhardt, 1982; Lipka et al., 1998). In the context of Alutiiq society, Schneider (2000) declares that "the Western traditional knowledge that is typically examined through textbooks and lessons clashes with many children's own cultural beliefs" (p. 18). Yup'ik researcher Kawagley (1999) observes that "the values embedded in these modern institutions are often in conflict with the Yupiaq" and states that his people have suffered from "cognitive imperialism" (p. 20). How can one apply a Western educational framework to Yup'ik and Alutiiq people when it has been developed within systems which do not embrace Yup'ik and Alutiiq social and cultural values?

The literature and my fieldwork suggest that frameworks of EFS suited for the peoples of the North American study groups have been developed and practised among them over a long period. The concept of 'sustainability' is manifest in the traditional worldviews of Inuit, Alutiiq and Yup'ik. Traditionally, their society and their codes of conduct are formed around the principle of cycles of life (Brody, 1983;

Fienup-Riordan, 1986, 1990; Kawagley, 1995, 1999; Kawagley & Barnhardt, 1999; Kawagley et al., 1998). 'Respect' has direct implications for sustainability. It must be remembered, however, that once invasion started values based on a philosophy of 'sustainability' (in the sense noted above) were disrupted and forced to be abandoned by Western institutions. Consequently, these beliefs and worldviews now persist only sporadically among individuals. This is the very issue that the North American study groups are addressing. Having realised the importance of their traditional values and the implications for the future, Alutiiq educators have made a statement of 'Kodiak Alutiiq Cultural Values', which demonstrates their commitment to education and their future based around their worldviews (See Appendix 3c).

The discussion above poses an interesting question: if an educational framework has to be culturally and socially appropriate, and therefore the one developed among Western thinkers cannot be applied to indigenous societies in North America, will there be no single unified framework for EFS? Could we all achieve 'sustainable living' and a 'sustainable future' with various meanings of 'sustainability' depending on worldviews? Some anthropologists have discussed issues of locality and universality concerning knowledge systems and understanding of nature, and come up with conflicting opinions (Descola & Pálsson, 1999b).

As discussed in Chapter 2, to overcome the present environmental crisis, many scholars in the West have argued for a shift in worldviews from mechanical to holistic, and extended the argument for education. The framework that they are promoting almost exactly fits the traditional worldviews of the North American study groups; Inuit, Yup'ik and Alutiiq. This may suggest the possibility of a universal philosophical framework for EFS, and indicates that people in the Western industrialised nations can look to the native peoples in North America to put these philosophies into practice in culturally relevant ways. It also indicates for peoples in North America that their programmes have direct implications for EFS as long as they consciously attempt to revive their worldviews as communities building relationships with the land. However, it is not as simple as this.

Two points have to be noted. First, even if peoples with different worldviews could share the same basic values, the practical implications for their behaviours and actions would not be the same because of the differences in ontology and epistemology, the environment they live in, social and economic systems and so on. Without understanding what their worldviews entail, there is a danger in generalising and romanticising. Secondly, the indigenous peoples associated with my study groups may have to modify and construct their new educational framework for sustainability, taking the current political, economic and environmental situations around them into consideration. This point is discussed further in the next section.

Earlier sections mentioned the land use of the ancestors of the North American study groups and stated that they did not alter the landscape in the same way as industrialised nations. However, it is not known if this outcome is conditional or cultural. It is incorrect to generalise that indigenous peoples do not change the environment (Diamond, 1998; Flannery, 1994; Redford & Padoch, 1992). The worldviews of those in the study group certainly include responsibility for their land, but many Western commentators are not confident as to what extent their traditional beliefs would be robust within the complex modern world of conflicting interests in resources, population increase, advanced technology and the global environmental situation.

There have been many counter arguments against labelling indigenous peoples as 'original ecologists'. Although there are undoubtedly many cases where local peoples have consciously practised conservation and sustainable resource use (Berkes, 1999, 1989; IUCN, 1986), situations vary considerably around the world and depending on the concerned periods of discussion (Croll & Parkin, 1992; Flannery, 1994; Jones & Konner, 1976; Whitmore, 1990). While peoples in many places, including the ancestors of my North American study groups, have survived and strived over many generations without over-exploiting their resources, generally local peoples' perceptions of nature are not necessarily based on protection and conservation values as understood in the West. For example, Yup'ik people traditionally view animals as infinitely renewable (Fienup-Riordan, 1990), which

implies that their harvesting activities are not operated under a Western 'conservation' principle. In the context of the American Indians, Callicott (1983) explains that their attitudes to nature were "neither ecological nor conservative in the modern scientific sense, as much as it was moral or ethical" (p. 249).

Sustainability among indigenous peoples could be a result of a low population compared to resources, their lifestyle of rotating a living place, the technologies available, or certain taboos based on their beliefs or customs (Clayton & Radcliffe, 1997; Schmink et al., 1992). Often these taboos function to conserve wildlife and resources, and in some cases rituals help to synchronise harvests with natural cycles which incidentally results in sustainable use of resources, but whether or not it is a social control based on an intentional conservation concept is hard to determine (Callicott, 1983). On the other hand, some interviewees in Igloolik referred to their awareness of sustainable harvesting, and insisted that their ancestors had operated under the same concept; as evidence they cite the extant offspring (i.e. themselves).

Irrespective of a conservation strategy as conceptualised in the West, Redclift (1987) argues that "the knowledge gained from sustainable-resource use forms part of the environmental *practices* of most indigenous populations" (p. 150). Further, Schmink et al. (1992) are probably right to say that the important question now is not "which traditional practices, as practised in the past, are sustainable, but rather which conditions cause people to conserve their resources, and which conditions favour

destruction, or overexploitation, of local resources" (p. 8). Though there is much to learn from traditional worldviews, one has to remember that all ideas are products of their societies, which are often governed by and operated according to a different set of concepts concerning production, space, time, ownership, wealth and relationships. One should not hastily conclude that one outcome is caused by one attitude, as discussed in the earlier section concerning 'respect'.

**New Knowledge System**

The traditional worldviews of the North American study groups clearly address sustainability, but they would need to consider some points in order to fully attend to EFS, especially when they encourage subsistence activities. In recent history, they have already modified their values, beliefs and practices to fit contemporary political, educational, economic, social and religious institutions (Kawagley, 1999), and the discontinuity of the core values is deplored by many members of Inuit, Yup'ik and Alutiiq societies. Discontinuity was caused chiefly by external forces. However, cultures and worldviews are not static and adaptation must have helped cultural survival. It is ironic that now the Western advocates for EFS encourage a shift of their values to the ones which the West originally tried to remove from indigenous peoples (Chapter 2). However, for several reasons it is neither practical nor likely that indigenous peoples will simply reconstruct their original traditional worldviews. First, their traditional worldviews are already much fragmented; secondly they are under the influence of the contemporary political, economic and social framework

formed around them; thirdly, linked to the previous points, they no longer practise traditional resource management; and finally cultures and societies have changed quite naturally to a degree where traditional worldviews cannot be exactly embraced.

The construction of a new knowledge system would be achieved by assessing what the indigenous peoples consider necessary for continuing to live in this world, but Kawagley (1999) stresses the importance of bridging the Western scientific concepts and practices by saying that they corroborate Native observations and show "why Mother Earth is suffering" (p. 21). Understanding the global issues and the connection between the local and global environment is important. First, they would need to know how the human activities in other places impact on them and their environment, and as well the impact their choice of actions would cause locally and globally. With this understanding, Yup'ik mathematician Kawagley (1999) asserts that the Native students can become scientists, "buttressed in a Nature-way worldview" with a kind and polite disposition to the world (p. 21). Secondly, they would need to include an understanding of the technology level and the increase in population compared to their ancestors' time. A modern hunter can catch many more caribou or moose in a shorter time with improved firearms and equipment, which lets him/her cover wider areas in shorter time. An overwhelming increase in population coupled with encouragement of subsistence would result in greater consumption of wildlife by the community than in the past, and they would need to consider the impact. Thirdly, the conflicting interests of many agents (sports

hunters, foreign fishermen, local and federal government, tourist industries, western scientists, radical environmentalists, etc.) need to be addressed. Within the current political and economic framework, whether the local residents consider it justifiable or not, the local community is not the only group with interests in the resources in the area. The second and third points show that the contemporary situation contains many aspects of life which their ancestors had not experienced, thus indigenous groups would need to construct new knowledge to deal with them.

## Towards Sustainability

Throughout the present study to a certain extent I found generational differences (such as between elders and young people) concerning their relationships with their environments, but the core social and cultural values attached to the environment were revealed as follows.

An increasing disconnection from the land was observed and was acknowledged, to some degree, by all the groups, but the implications of this 'disconnection' were different for each of the study group. For the three groups in North America, disconnection was a matter of their survival, both physically and culturally, whereas in Scotland it was perceived as a root cause of irresponsible environmental behaviours.

All organisers of the groups cherished the term 'respect' as an attitude they wanted to see among young people towards the environment. They all said that respect naturally entails care and responsibility, but the meanings of 'care' were different among the groups. From the fieldwork data in the UK and the relevant literature, it would seem that 'caring' in Western societies implies protection and preservation through non-use or minimal use of the environment: a view perhaps based on an ontological separation between humans and nature. It also included the alteration and re-creation of the environment into something people thought it should be. On the other hand, for study groups of Inuit, Yup'ik and Alutiiq people, caring was expressed as 'culturally proper interaction' with the natural world, which encompasses spirit and inanimate beings. These peoples do not construct hierarchy among all 'beings' in the world. Their ancestors have used the land over generations, but have not altered the landscape in the manner of the industrialised nations.

For many years, commentators in the West have discussed environmental ethics and how these should relate to the land, whereas the relational rules have been already set for Inuit, Yup'ik and Alutiiq and so far, there is no major argument about such ethics. It does not mean, however, that Native individuals nowadays never violate the traditional relational rules. The rules are passed on only selectively and sporadically. Nonetheless, because elders function as culture bearers of traditional principles, few people questions these values.

The disconnection appeared to be greater among the groups in Kodiak than in Russian Mission, and greater again in Russian Mission than in Igloolik. At a glance it may be hypothesised that the relationships with the natural world are on a continuum with social variation relating to modernisation. In this respect, the Scotland case has connotations of 'global mainstream' and may be regarded as an example of the industrialised cities of the world, including the USA and Canada; in the future, Igloolik, Kodiak and Russian Mission could become larger towns or get absorbed into other cities. However, concerning people's relationships with nature, it was suggested that fundamental change required cultural, spiritual and ontological transformation. The change is not a linear progression and cannot be seen as a natural outcome solely of social transfer.

The study programmes' implications for EFS were also examined. Among North American study groups, reviving their traditional worldviews through the programmes has direct implications for EFS. Nonetheless, considering the present situation, it will be necessary to include a few different dimensions to construct new knowledge for EFS, building on what they already have implemented. On the other hand, among the study programmes in Scotland, some approaches seemed to appeal more to EFS than the others. However, as a whole the programmes did not seem to fully deal with the organisers' concerns around sustainability.

Scottish society (which the study groups were associated with) appears to be remote from the reality of life and death in daily life. Many people buy processed and packaged food at supermarkets and do not directly handle what they eat in its unprocessed form. Conversations with many environmental educators in Scotland indicated that, for example, killing a chicken during an educational programme with an intention to demonstrate what actually sustains our life would not be acceptable to the general public. In such a situation, it could sound superficial for an educational programme to address a deep and real connection with the land, and any claims made would risk becoming mere rhetoric. British society faces the dilemma of reconciling the physical requirements of modern life with feelings and values towards the environment (Thomas, 1984). Unless this dilemma is tackled, an advocated shift in Western philosophies towards having a more ecological framework is at risk of further romanticism and failing to meet its goal of EFS.

I have argued for locally and culturally appropriate education. Concerning 'bonding with the land', some Scottish or British educators may think that as their local environment is 'not wild' any longer, it cannot provide authentic nature experiences, therefore they need to go 'somewhere else' to provide 'real' natural or wild experiences. While going to wild places may provide extremely valuable experiences from various perspectives (Hattie et al., 1997; McIntyre & Roggenbuck, 1998; Mittelstaedt et al., 1999; Patterson, Watson, Williams, & Roggenbuck, 1998; Stringer & McAvoy, 1995), the learning may not have a direct link with daily life,

which is where they need to consider and practise 'sustainable living'. Learning opportunity can take many different forms. However, whether it is Scotland or Alaska, locally and culturally appropriate education is situated within the context of their respective environments; the fundamental value to the participants is that it is linked to their identity. Educators need to explore potential and create a project integrating culture and history within their own landscape. It can be argued that people in Scotland tend to move their living places so often that it is more suitable to provide 'context-free' learning experiences. However, my research suggested that the young participants in the UK showed strong attachment to a certain place, rather than the environment in general as a concept. Some of them who engaged in the local context drastically changed their environmental perceptions, and they were more likely to practise their interest and activities in their daily lives. Experiences in remote 'wild' places could have significant impact on individuals but locally and culturally appropriate educational programmes are also worth exploring much further. This argument is linked to the fact that, for indigenous young people, learning about things which are not relevant to their daily lives are less likely to capture their interest or real understanding.

To conclude, this study has responded to a lack of research into both educational programmes from the perspective of people's relationships with the environment and attempts among indigenous groups to bond young generations with the land. I have established:

- the importance of the cultural and local context in developing such relationships with the environment.
- that the nature of these relationships varies depending on the cultural, social and local settings.
- that while the programmes would benefit from borrowing certain elements from North American programmes, UK educators cannot simply duplicate the North American models and *vice versa.*

All the study programmes are innovative and ongoing projects, and their implications for education in their own societies are significant. In particular, the North American cases pose an important question for all of us: what is education for? Their 'outdoor' programmes have a revolutionary significance in finally making 'Western type' education more meaningful for these Native peoples. This has important implications for formal education throughout the world, because 'education' in general, and school education in particular, has been very much 'Euro-centric' and based on compartmentalised subjects. The North American study cases present an example of holistic education, towards which some Western thinkers now advocate a shift. The practicality of such a model requires careful application to each social and cultural context. In this respect, it would be valuable to continue working with these programmes to observe their long term development. Will it contribute to the search for a common analytical framework of EFS among various cultures and societies? Can we all have the same sustainable future while

maintaining various frameworks which are locally and culturally appropriate? This work suggests the necessity of further research which continuously seeks to build bridges between different worldviews, learning from experiment and practice elsewhere.

Nonetheless, these educational programmes, set in diverse contexts and locations, speak of a common concern for a locally meaningful and globally effective future. Awareness of and interest in programmes elsewhere may not only maximise learning potential, but also satisfy a key element of sustainability, that of understanding other cultures and the issues they face. This thesis, written by a Japanese living in Scotland and working in the UK, Canada and the USA, is intended as a contribution to that process.

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Notes:

[1] For issues in multicultural education, see Banks & Lynch (1986), for example.
[2] For more discussion about 'spirituality', see Stringer and McAvoy (1995).
[3] Inuit in Nunavut communities are remarked to increasingly adopt a concept of 'enjoyable nature experience', building cottages along the coast (J. MacDonald, personal communication, 16 Oct 2003).
[4] Some Inuit elders deplore this tendency as something against their traditional belief (J. MacDonald, personal communication, 16 Oct 2003).
[5] Watson (1988) cites some studies in South Africa and the USA, and suggests that plants and trees may have some kind of awareness or senses, though it is treated as part of "the folklore of the para-normal" in the Western scientific world (p. 52).
[6] A plural form of *inukshugaq*, a piled-stone landmark in a human-like form.

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# Appendices

Appendix 1: Sample Questionnaires

1a Form of consent
1b Semi-structured interviews
1c Environmental concept
1d Preliminary survey

Appendix 2: Citations from Literature

2a Six statements of the characteristics of Education for Sustainability
2b Hart's (1997) eight levels of participation

Appendix 3: The Academy of Elders/Science Camp

3a How activities are generated in camp
3b The camp's 11 purposes
3c Kodiak Alutiiq cultural values

Appendix 4: Russian Mission School Outdoor Programmes

4a Fieldnotes from a day when the boys went to check rabbit snares
4b Fieldnotes: Hard to control the students outside
4c Hull's observations and feelings about Yup'ik people
4d Students' products on the web as a result of the outdoor classes

Appendix 5: Land-skills Courses of Inullariit Society

5a Population growth in Igloolik
5b Examples from the Oral History Project
5c Fieldnotes on the first morning on trail during Paariaqtuqtut
5d Fieldnotes on ice fishing trip and learning

# Appendix 1: Sample Questionnaires

## 1a Form of consent

The following is a form of consent sent to guardians of the John Muir Award Tranent group. Similar forms were sent out to guardians of the John Muir Award Gullane group. For other groups, each organiser took the responsibility for acquiring parental consents.

20 November, 2001

Dear Guardian,

As part of my doctoral studies at the University of Edinburgh I am studying people's experiences through place-oriented educational programmes in Britain and North America. I have selected a group from Ross High School in Tranent which takes part in John Muir Award as one of the programmes in this study. I am asking permission for your child to participate in this study. Leaders responsible for the group are aware of my intentions, and I have also asked your child verbally if she is willing to be involved in my study.

To participate, your child will be asked to fill in a questionnaire at an early stage of the programme, and will be interviewed by me at the end of the JMA programme, regarding the experiences through the programme and any impact she has perceived. She will be also asked general background information about herself, in addition to possible environmental influences in the past by places and people involved.

Let me assure you that all involvement will be voluntary. In addition, the responses to the interview will remain confidential. I will be the only person who reads individual responses, and these comments will be anonymous when utilised in my thesis. If you have any questions regarding this study, please feel free to contact me at the address below.

Attached is a participation consent form, and I will be grateful if you can respond to this inquiry by 10th December. Simply sign and return the attached form to me in the enclosed addressed, stamped envelope.

Thank you in advance for your understanding.

Sincerely,

TAKANO Takako (Ms)
Enviromental & Outdoor Education Section, University of Edinburgh
St Leonard's Land, Holyrood Road, Edinburgh EH8 8AQ
Office phone: 0131-651-6520 ext. 215
Home phone / fax : 0131-662-0030
Email: takano@wschool.net

CONSENT FOR PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL RESEARCH

Addressed to: TAKANO Takako, PhD student University of Edinburgh

I consent to my child's participation in the research entitled: AN IMPACT OF PLACE-ORIENTED OUTDOOR / ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION.

Date:

Singed:_____ _____

Participant Parent or Guardian

Names in print: _____ _____

Participant Parent or Guardian

Residential address for further contact when necessary:

## 1b Semi-structured interviews

In order to show the development of guiding questions for semi-structured interviews, the following first presents an initial set of questions, named 'a sense of place questionnaire'. This was developed partly based on Significant Life Experience research questions and a census survey, and tested with university students in the UK. It was also tested with Alaska Native individuals, who were not linked to the actual study programmes, and with young participants of the Science Camp 2001. As a result, this questionnaire was modified and for clarity was termed 'guiding questions for semi-structured interviews', which were actually used in the study. The numbering of these questions is not in sequence due to the modification process. Both sets of the guiding questions were used orally.

**A sense of place questionnaire**

Section 1: demographic information

Name, Address, email/contact number, Sex, Birth (age), Ethnicity

(household)

1. Who do you live with?
2. Do you have pets/animals? What are they?

(work or school)

3. Do you go to school or are you taking some types of education? =yes -> 4 =no -> 5
4. What is it and what year?

(elementary or secondary, employment training, a collge/uni, correspondence course, others)

5. How old were you when you left school?
   *never went to school
   *age
6. Do you work? =yes -> 7 =no-> 8
7. What do you do? Is it part time or full time?

8. Are you looking for work?

(history of lived places)

9. Have you lived in the present place since you were born? =yes =no -> 10
10. Please tell me where and how long you have lived there, and brief description of the place such as village, town or city / developed or rural / its environment such as near the coast, mountains, rivers or totally residential area)

## Section 2: information on environmental influence and concerns

(leisure, outdoor, environmental activities)

1. Please tell me if you have done any of the following things in your leisure time when you were not working or at school in the 4 weeks ending last Sunday?
   1) Watching TV/ video
   2) Listened to the radio
   3) Listen to music (CD/tapes/records)
   4) Read books
   5) Played computer games
   6) Access to web on computer
   7) Access to email, including through mobile
   8) Visited friends and relatives or had they come to see you?
   9) Any gardening, raising plants
   10) Have you looked after animals?
   11) Outdoor activities in natural setting and how many days/times you used for; hiking, walking, canoeing/kayaking, climbing, diving, swimming outdoors, downhill skiing, cross country skiing, snowboarding, sailing, windsurfing, horse riding, orienteering, hunting, fishing, bird watching, creating something (painting, creating objects with natural materials), natural history (field nature study), others
   12) Playing outside and what you did for how often
   13) Environmental activities and what they are; practical conservation work, cleaning up outside, buying 'green' goods, watching/reading/listening about environmental matters, recycling, saving energy consciously, not to litter consciously, others

2. Regardless of the time frame, what outdoor/environmental activities, including playing outside, have you done or actually do? How often do you do them? → show a card which lists the activities above

3. Are you a member of some environmental organizations? If so, what are they?

4. Can you tell me if you have played or have interactive experiences in natural areas through family holidays, childhood play, youth groups, part of the school curriculum, and so on? To what extent? What kind of memories do you have about them?

5. Have you raised animals or plants or have you been taking care of them?

6. Have you visited a place which you feel has had strong influence on your feeling about environment?

7. Is there anyone around you who is interested in the environment? Do you have much contact with the person?

Section 3: 'a sense of place' semi-structured interview

1. I will ask you about the environment from now. To begin with, I would like to know what the environment means to you.

2. Rating the elements of a sense of place:

(If it does not become clear from question 1, ask to clarify, what 'his/her environment' is; I will ask you to rate the following items. There are questions about 'your place' or 'your environment', but where do you think 'your place' is? Where you live, or you have somewhere special as you feel 'your place'?)

Please rate the following items from One to Five. 'One' is the weakest and 'five' is the strongest. They are about your feelings, interests, and knowledge about your

place and the environment. This is not a test but rather how much you THINK you know and to what extent you feel in that way.

1) Interest in the environment
2) Emotional connection to your place
3) Caring about your environment
4) Feeling good in nature
5) Respect toward nature
6) Being part of your environment
7) Feeling responsible towards your environment
8) Knowledge of/about people and the community (if your place includes a community)
9) Knowledge of/about ecology of your place
10) Knowledge of/about history/stories concerning your place
11) Knowledge of ecological connection with the environment
12) Awareness of/about local environmental issues
13) Awareness of/about global environmental issues
14) Awareness of/about local culture
15) Awareness of/about your identity
16) Awareness of/about sustainability

3. (this may not apply to those who rate 1 to most of items of Q1 above, especially 1) – 7). For those who have no interest in the environment and their places, I confirm the no-interest.)

Why do you think you started to develop your interest in natural environment? What about appreciation or caring toward the environment?
(possible factors as a cue; childhood experiences, parental role models, outdoor activities, farming or raising animals, friendships, books, environmental destruction, formal education, born with it, religion)

4. <u>(from here on, programme participants only)</u>

What was good about the programme for you?

→ their values and interests

5. What do you feel you learnt? (regardless of its environmental connection, e.g. inter-personal skill, subsistence skill, value, confidence, etc)?
6. What did you learn about your place?
7. What have you changed because of the programme?

→ to access to what extent the programmes achieve their intended goals.

8. Is there any difference of what you think of environment because of the programme?

(value, attitudes, more awareness in environmental issues, more attentive to media reports, seek out information, alternative perspectives, supportive to protect and improve the total environment, etc)

9. To what extent do you think the programme influenced the respective level among question 2 items which you rated? (very much decreased, decreased, unchanged, increased, very much increased)

→ Participants' change in awareness influenced by programmes

**Guiding questions for semi-structured interviews**

Section 1: demographic information

Name, Address, email/contact number, Sex, Birth (age), Ethnicity

School year

(household)

1. Who do you live with?
2. Do you have pets/animals? What are they?

(history of lived places)

3. Please tell me where you were born and how long you have lived there, and brief description of the place such as village, town or city / developed or rural / its environment such as near the coast, mountains, rivers or totally residential area)

## Section 3: a concept toward the environment

1. Let me ask you about the environment. Do you think about nature and the environment sometimes? If so: What do you think about? Can you tell me what the environment means to you? What about nature?

→ for those who filled in the questionnaires at the beginning;
* for the section I, ask them the reason and to elaborate.
* is there any difference or change, having gone through the JMA programme?

2. What's the difference in your relationship to domestic animals and wild animals?

3. Do you know of or have you heard about any problems that affect the environment? Which ones?

4. Do you talk about the problems of the environment with your friends or with your family? If yes, what things come up in those conversations? If not, why don't you?

5. Do you do anything to protect the environment or to help solve some of its problems? If yes, what? If not, why?

6. What first made you be interested in the environment? What influenced you think about the environment like that?

(possible factors as a cue; childhood experiences, parental role models, outdoor activities, farming or raising animals, friendships, books, environmental destruction, formal education, born with it, religion, reading and watching about the environment)

## Section 4: impact of the programme

1. What motivated you to participate in the programme?

2. What did you think the programme was all about? Anything you expected at the beginning?

3. Having gone through, was your expectation met? Did anything unexpected happen?

4. What was good about the programme for you?

5. What was the most memorable meeting or activity during the programme?

6. What do you feel you learnt?

7. Do you have different view or feeling about your place (about where you live / about the activity sites) from what you used to?

8. Are there any day that made you feel a connection with nature?

9. Was there any day or activity that gave you an appreciation of the environment?

10. Is there any difference in what you think of environment because of the programme? Are there any environmental issues which concern you that did not before?

11. Do you do anything differently because of the programme especially something to do with environment?

(value, attitudes, more awareness in environmental issues, more attentive to media reports, seek out information, alternative perspectives, supportive to protect and improve the total environment, etc)

12. Is there anything you want to continue doing after you finish the programme?

13. Are there any other ways you think the programme influenced you? Have you changed because of the programme?

## Section 2: information on environmental influence and concerns

1. Please tell me about outdoor/environmental activities you like and do voluntarily. How often do you do them?

hiking, walking, canoeing/kayaking, climbing, diving, swimming outdoors, downhill skiing, cross-country skiing, snowboarding, sailing, windsurfing, boogie boarding, horse riding, orienteering, hunting, fishing, bird watching, creating something (painting, creating objects with natural materials), natural history (field nature study), cram digging, bike riding,

practical conservation work, cleaning up outside, raking, buying 'green' goods, planting, water plants, watching/reading/listening about environmental matters, recycling, saving energy consciously, not to litter consciously, others

2. Are you a member of some environmental organizations? If so, what are they?

3. Can you tell me if you have played or have interactive experiences in natural areas through family holidays, childhood play, youth groups, part of the school curriculum, and so on? To what extent? What kind of memories do you have about them?

4. Have you raised animals or plants or have you been taking care of them?

5. Do you have a special place? If so, describe it and tell my why it is special.

6. Is there anyone around you who is interested in the environment? Do you have much contact with the person?

## 1c Environmental concept

Most study programme participants were asked to fill in the following questionnaires before semi-structured interviews were conducted. During the interviews, the respondents were asked to elaborate and sometimes they clarified the meanings of the questions. When it was not possible to fill it in beforehand, they were asked these questions during the interviews.

What do you think...?

I. Please indicate how much you agree the following statements by circling the number and an item.

1 -- not agree at all
2 -- agree only a little
3 – more or less
4 – fairly agree
5 -- strongly agree
don't know – when you don't know!

Q1. Animals are important part of my life 1 2 3 4 5
Q2. Plants are important part of my life 1 2 3 4 5
Q3. The nature exists for human beings 1 2 3 4 5

II. Please answer the below freely.

1) What is nature for you?
2) What is the environment for you? (if you think nature and environment is the same, do not bother writing this)

Your name: _____

That's it! Well done. Please put this into envelope and post. Thank you!

## 1d Preliminary survey

The preliminary survey was conducted from November 2000 for four months as a process to determine study groups in North America. The following is a cover letter, a survey sheet, and a list of organisations the survey was sent to. This set was posted or emailed to a total of 72 organisations and individuals, and the survey sheet could be filled in through the Internet.

Jan. 22, 2001

Dear Sir / Madam,

I am a PhD student at the University of Edinburgh, researching the relationship between culture and education. This is to ask for your help and co-operation!

My interest stems from my own experiences as a Japanese national, and educated under Euro-American value systems at school.

This study focuses specifically on how different cultures relate to the landscape within the context of education. First of all, I would like to gather information on educational attempts made by indigenous peoples to enhance a sense of relationship between people and the Earth. This is a general survey to determine the potential for further study.

This letter has been sent to indigenous groups and people, mainly in the Arctic, that are concerned with education, or may know of such organisations and individuals. The list of the recipients to whom I will send this form is attached with questionnaire for your information.

If you are involved in these activities, I should very much appreciate your response to the questionnaire, which should only take about 15 minutes.

If you are not directly involved, but you know organisations and other people who are concerned with the matter, I should appreciate it if you could let me know about them, or forward this message to them.

Let me apologise that replying to me involves international communication fee. Therefore, if you have access to the Internet, I have put the same questions on a website. You can write in and just click a button to reply to me. If you would prefer to respond this online, please check the following.

http://209.213.204.25:591/questionnaire/qindex.html

However, please note that for some unknown reason some computers seem to have a trouble accessing it. I can also send you this by email if you let me know your email address.

In return for your help, I will gladly send out the result of this preliminary survey to all those who respond.

Though this is a general survey to measure the feasibility for a further research, should you wish to be informed of the final outcome, I am happy to keep you notified.

Thank you very much in advance for your assistance. Look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

TAKANO Takako

TAKANO Takako (ms)
Outdoor / Environmental Education Section
The University of Edinburgh
Cramond Road North
Edinburgh EH4 6JD, UK
phone: +44 (0)131-312-6001 ext. 243
fax: +44 (0)131-228-4049
e-mail: takano@wschool.net

**SURVEY OF ATTEMPTS TO BUILD A CONNECTION WITH LAND**

Please return the response by 15 Feb. 2001 through website (http://209.213.204.25:591/questionnaire/qindex.html), email (takano@wschool.net) , fax (+44-131-228-4049), or postal mail to the address at the end of the questionnaire.

---

<<DATE on which this form is filled in>>

Day Month Year

**A WRITER'S INFORMATION: this will not be identified in the result**

Name:

Your position at the organization:

Contact postal address (if different from the organization's):

Phone (including international code):

Fax:

Email:

**ORGANIZATION'S INFORMATION**

Name of organization:

Postal address:

Phone:

Fax:

Email:

**Questionnaire's purpose:**

In order to conduct an educational research, I would like to gather information on attempts among indigenous peoples to enhance a sense of relationship between people and the Earth, including natural environment such as land, ocean, plants and animals. When I use the term "a sense of land", that includes entire natural environment and spirit.

This is a preliminary survey to learn the feasibility of a further PhD research on the topic. If you are interested in being informed of the outcome of this survey as well as the final report, when the research moves on further, I will gladly send out them to you.

**ACTIVITIES**

- **Do you / Does this organization make attempts to build a sense of belonging to natural environment or all life on Earth?**

**Yes** → Please tell me if you have any particular names of the attempts or programs.

**No** (please go to the question 11, 12 and 13 only.)

- **In what form are the attempts conducted? (If you have more than one program, please state for each program.)**
  a) During classes in the school curriculum

→ What are the names of the classes?

  b) Part of the school curriculum but using a camping or residential center setting to allow the delivery of an external curriculum.
  c) Independent programs, non-profit
  d) Independent, commercial
  e) Others → please describe

- **Which of the following issues are covered in these activities?** (Please circle or x where appropriate.)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| self-identity | cultural identity | multi-culture (cross-culture) acceptance | |
| social-personal development | | environmental awareness | sustainable living |
| nature study | leadership | interpersonal-skill development | welfare |
| physical-skill development | | outdoor recreational skill | deviancy solution |
| hunting/gathering subsistent skill | | traditional making skill | survival skill |
| transfer of local knowledge | | transfer of certain values | academic training |
| improvement of health | | community building | spirituality |

others (please specify):

- **Cultures and ages of participants of the program are** (Tick, describe or circle as appropriate. If you have more than one programs, which aim to build a connection to natural world, please state separately up to maximum three programs.) ;

  program 1 program 2 program 3

  a) multi-culture

     single culture (please specify)

     others (please specify)

  b) Younger than 5 years old, 5 - 11, 12 -16, 17 - 19, 20 - 29, 30-39, 40-49, older than 50
     Mixture of all ages
     Others (please specify):

- **To what extent are these activities/programs considered as embedded in local/indigenous culture and a community**?

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| not at all | weak | modest | strong | very strong |

  a) What is the role of the local/indigenous people?

  b) How is the program managed/organized? (For example, who funds it and who is responsible for the programs, and who designs the contents?)

- **Please describe <u>one</u> activity, which illustrates the program to develop a sense of land or connection to natural world.**

- **In what month(s) of the year does the main activity normally take place?**

- **How long does it usually last?**

- **Have your attempts / organizations been studied by external examiners?**

**Yes** → please indicate any information you are aware of the research. (e,g. publications, examiners' names and institutions, etc.)

**No**

- **Please provide information on any other programs you are aware of, which attempt to 'build a connection with the natural environment.'**

- **As part of the study of relationship between traditional cultures and land (natural environment), I am interested in knowing how you define 'indigenous people(s).' Would you please tell me your own definition?**

- **Would you / your organization be willing to co-operate further with this research?**

→ Yes / No

- **Would you like to be sent the result of the survey?** → Yes / No

Thank you very much for your response.
This is the end of the survey.

Please return the response by 15 Feb. 2001 by email (takano@wschool.net), fax (+44-131-228-4049), or postal mail to the address below. You can also answer through website if it is easier; http://209.213.204.25:591/questionnaire/qindex.html

If you send me leaflets or any information about your organization, which you can share with me, I should greatly appreciate it.

To TAKANO Takako
Outdoor & Environmental Education
The University of Edinburgh
Cramond Road North
Edinburgh EH4 6JD, UK

.....

**SURVEY RECIPIENTS :**

**US** (*affiliated to Alaska Native Knowledge Network)
Alaska Native Knowledge Network
Mark John (Calista Elders Council)*
Gaalee'ya Spirit Camp*
Cultural Heritage and Education Institute (Old Minto Camp)*
Alaska Rural Systemic Initiative Regional Coordinators*
- Amy Hatten -- Athabascan Region
- Elmer Jackson – Inupiaq Region
- Andy Hope – Southeast Region
- Barbara Liu – Yupi'k Regional Coordinator
- Moses Dirks -- Aleutians Region

Rural School and Community Trust
Fairbanks Native Association
Alaska Native Heritage Center
The Alaska Region of Native American Fish and Wildlife Society
Bristol Bay Native Corporation
Subsistence and Resource Conservation in Alaska

**CANADA**
Rediscovery International Foundation
Haida Gwaii Rediscovery Soceity

Stein Rediscovery

Chako Kunamokst Rediscovery

Heiltsuk Rediscovery

Sliammon Rediscovery

Wunskaw Wilderness Camp

Cheamub Rediscovery

Port Hardy Rediscovery

Inuit Circumpolar Conference, Canada

Leo Ussak Elementary School

Nancy Karetak-Lindell, MP of Nunavut

Dene Cultural Institute

Maliseet Radio Tobique First Nation

Ouje-Bougoumou Cree Community

Range Lake North School

Shibogama First Nations Council

Inuit Cultural Discussion e-Group

Inuit Discussion Forum

Kahanawake Survival School

Kanehsatake Powow

Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey

Miingignoti-Keteaoag

The Native Education Council

**Greenland**

Inuit Circumpolar Conference, headquarters

**Finland**

University of Lapland, Faculty of Education

# Appendix 2: Citations from Literature

## 2a Six statements of the characteristics of Education for Sustainability

*Educating for a Sustainable Future* (University of Edinburgh, n.d.) lists six statements as the characteristics of education for sustainability (EFS) as a result of research carried out with over 100 primary schools in the UK. The study use terms environmental education (EE) and EFS interchangeably. The results are listed as follows in their order of importance as identified in the research.

1. EE is about developing positive attitudes towards the environment in pupils through the discussion of opinions and the education of values.
2. EE is schools practicing what they teach by fostering environmental responsibility in pupils, teachers and support staff.
3. EE involves pupils in learning about their local environment through fieldwork and investigating.
4. EE is concerned with the active involvement of pupils in improving the school environment.
5. EE is about understanding the local and global impact of our decisions on the environment, including controversial issues.
6. EE is relevant to all subjects and is taught by all teachers.

## 2b Hart's (1997) eight levels of participation

In *Children's Participation*, Hart (1997) discusses the eight levels of participation as follows:

1. Child-initiated, shared decisions with adults
2. Child-initiated and directed
3. Adult-initiated, shared decisions with children
4. Consulted and informed
5. Assigned but informed
6. Tokenism
7. Decoration
8. Manipulation

The detailed explanations are discussed in his book, but Hart (1997) classifies level 6 to 8 as "non-participation". He states that:

> while the upper levels express increasing degrees of initiation by children, they are not meant to imply that a child should always be attempting to operate at the highest level of their competence. The figure is rather meant for adult facilitators to establish the conditions that enable groups of children to work at whatever levels they choose. (p. 41)

# Appendix 3: The Academy of Elders/Science Camp

## 3a How activities are generated in camp

During interviews, Schneider explained how she coordinated activities in a spontaneous and evolving manner without rigid forward planning:

What goes on at camp is determined mostly by the participants... and elders that I work with during the summer time, I also have contact with throughout the winter time...During those times, I am learning an immense amount about what's important to them. That helps me determine things that need to be focused on, perhaps in camp setting...I also feel obligation to learn about economic issues, environmental issues, political issues, because they all come up at camp at some point time, if not in a formal discussion with everybody, it's in one on one discussion with an elder or somebody else...a lot of these kinds of things come up are never planned. In terms of other content that happens out at camp, I can't emphasise enough how much it depends on who goes, who's there...you start with whatever people are familiar with. It's kind of funny my dad always says "I don't know how to do anything I can do out there", so we've sent him out with a row boat to teach kids how to row. My dad rowed around Near Island when he was 6 years old on, and knows rowing to a T, to science. He could figure out to get from point A to B. Last year we had a science project on kids rowing, using different size of oar, different weight of oar...that just came about based on my dad and his wanting kids to know how to row, and Allan saying "well, we can make a science project out of this". If Allan wasn't there, I don't know if any body would ever have thought about making a science experiment out of it. So it worked really well. Denis is one male elder who's gone every year, he is an old Afognak guy. He knows the place like the back of his hand. So people defer to him in terms of what's important, and what they can use here. One year he decided that he wanted to build a boat. One year someone asked if he could build a kayaq, and he laughed and said "I know nothing about a kayaq, but I can build a row boat". So

they built a row boat. Next year he says 'well we need a net out there, and we don't have a gill net. We'll teach kids how to build a net, teaching measurements and stuff'. The project last summer was to build a gill net. So last winter he said, "well we got a boat, we got a net, it only makes sense to fish. Have kids fish. We'll teach them everything we can about fish...kids don't know how to salt fish anymore, teach them how to salt fish, and smoke fish, cut fish, cook them on the beach"....It makes me as a coordinator step back, realise, I am simply a coordinator. They are the teachers, they need to let me know, and I need to make sure that they know I will listen and respond. ...The way that Elders go into it is that – if I went and said "what do you wanna do at camp?" They would say "well...we have to wait and see". So how do you prepare for that? You wait and see what the weather is. You can't hang fish to dry in this weather. [It was raining hard at the time of the interview.] It's not gonna dry. So there is no use in preparing drying. We might be stuck inside whole time. Maybe someone comes up with something totally different. Catching rainwater for drinking, I don't know! Maybe someone will invent a shower out there. It's a whole idea of building off of your resourcefulness. Teaching kids to be resourceful. I think it is part of environmental education, utilizing what is in your environment, your immediate environment, and your greater environment...to survive. I remember one time, Nadia wanted to go up to the bog. She wanted to see the little trees and really look at them. We just made that as one of our rotations where Nadia walked kids up there, we gave every kid a magnifying glass. That turned out to be one of the most awesome moments of time. We ended up spending more time up there than we had planned for. Kids discovered there are ants in Afognak island...I mean they were just like... 'WAAO!' We learnt all kinds of new stuff. Kids discovered those little plants that would bite bugs (insectivorous plants)...they are sticky and the bugs got stuck on them, and the plants eat them up. They were all about getting down to the ground. The elders didn't know there are ants in the Afognak Island. Then there were theories of how did the ants get to the Afognak Island. They came up with all kinds of theories. So there again you are modelling science. That's the best, the

discovery is the best. And how it continues on. So it was totally an unplanned activity, it came up in the morning. Nadia says "you know we should take kids up to a bog and look at the trees, and maybe I try to find the plant we talked about last night". So you take kids up to the bog, and go from there. That's how things happen. (T. Schneider, 14 July 2002)

## 3b The camp's 11 purposes

The following are the published purposes of the Academy of Elders/Science Camp 2002.

- Acknowledge the Alutiiq Elders as the first teachers of their culture
- Learn first hand from Native Elders and community members with hands on projects relative to rural survival/lifestyles and Native ingenuity
- Learn more about the rich history of our island communities and explore the culture of the Alutiiq people, past and present
- Bring together Elders and teachers outside of the formal school setting
- Give participants the opportunity to live with and learn from people of another culture
- Orient new teachers to the cultural and environmental uniqueness of our island community
- Stimulate interest in Math, Science and Engineering fields among Alaska Native students
- Increase students' confidence and knowledge in math, science and technology
- Incorporate Native values and perspectives with western math, science and technology
- Encourage parents to support the academic pursuits of their children
- Integrate academic learning with cultural enrichment

## 3c Kodiak Alutiiq cultural values

The following is the contents of a colour poster titled 'Kodiak Alutiiq Cultural Values', developed by Native Educators of the Alutiiq Region, Alutiiq Elder's Council, and the Alutiiq Academy of Elders.

> We are the descendants of the Sugpiak, the Real People. Understanding our environment and events that have shaped our lives and created the culture of our ancestors is vital for our children's cultural survival. The history of our People and our place in the world is a part of who we are today. Kodiak Alutiit must learn and pass on to younger generations our understanding of our natural world: the sky, land, water and the animals. As we meet the challenge of living in the 21st century, we must continue to live in honor of those things we value;
>
> - Our Elders
> - Ties to our homeland
> - Sharing: we welcome everyone
> - Stewardship of the animals, land, sky and waters
> - Learning by doing, observing and listening
> - Our heritage language
> - Trust
> - Sense of humor
> - Traditional arts, skills and ingenuity
> - Respect for self, others and our environment is inherent in all of these values
> - Faith and a spiritual life, from ancestral beliefs to the diverse faiths of today
> - A subsistence lifestyle, respectful of and sustained by the natural world
> - Family and the kinship of our ancestors and living relatives
> - Our people: we are responsible for each other and ourselves

# Appendix 4: Russian Mission School Outdoor Programmes

## 4a Fieldnotes from a day when the boys went to check rabbit snares

Thursday 21 March, Fine, 0℃
Went out with junior high school boys to check rabbit snares...my machine with two boys on the back finally caught up with the rest. They were already in the willow bush, setting a snare or playing around.

As I mostly followed the main river or rather big river until today, this trip showed me somewhat different faces of the land. Narrow sloughs and willow bushes. Very pretty and nice to be outside; the sun was shining and reflecting on the snow. Cool and fresh air.

After checking rabbit snares, we moved on to *manaqing*, we were again in a fantastic setting. A large hill in front, small hills around us, islands, frozen sloughs and a big river. Just huge open space and a large sky.

Kids knew how to make a hole, using a drilling machine.
They seemed to know what they were doing. They carried the machine just by themselves and started it. But because of a problem with the blade they were having a trouble making a hole. The ice was about one meter thick. They tried using a shovel, an ice axe, but all in vein. Yet no one complained and they kept on going or playing.

When Jason (Moen, a senior teacher) told K that they were going back, K said he did not want to go back yet. No one wanted to go back, but eventually they got in the sled because they knew it was a school class.

I started to get a sense of why they enjoy being out.
The landscape is just amazingly beautiful. Much better than sitting in the classroom, that is for sure. Plenty time and space is allowed for playing as the class outside is not tightly structured. They don't get to be blamed for being lazy or playing around.

Even if they are scolded, it has a different nature of impact. They were free and not intimidated. They talked with me much more freely. No comparison to how they do during the interviews or in school building.

After the class is over, four boys and N (an instructor) went to upriver near Kako. They had set their snares there. No rabbits caught, except one which was shot and left nearby by someone. No new traces of rabbits, which surprised N. They pulled their snares out. The area was very pretty. I felt a sense of a discovery as the area was new to me. These kids must have experienced the same sensation when they came here first time, walking into the willow, following the natural curves that the willow formed. You don't know what is ahead until you walk pass a bunch of willow which obstruct your view. (Fieldnotes, 21/03/02)

## 4b Fieldnotes: Hard to control the students outside

Friday 22 March, Fine, -2℃
We moved to a different place near Kako with snow machines.
Immediately after we arrived, all boys ran into the bush, and checking all snares around if any of them caught a rabbit. They went to theirs first, and then the others'. Checking each other, making comments about the way snares were set or rabbits' movement. N (an instructor) was explaining to T why his snare was not successful by saying that the fence Solomon made was too low so that rabbits just jumped over, or the snare was too high that rabbit passed underneath. N fixed the snare as the students soon left the site, leaving N behind. Behind the scene, N also fixed the one of W's, which D played with and ruined. N shook his head and murmured; "Kids...These kids are just goofying around".

In moving to another batch of willow bush, O all of a sudden left the path and changed his direction, wading into the snow. The rest of the boys were going forward, but O returned where we stopped snow machines, and said "I am gonna wait".

Soon he lied down on the snow, spreading his legs and arms under the sun. He looked very comfortable. His face had a peaceful smile, eyes closed. K joined O, and I suppose they might have slept on the machines after all. N noticed they went missing, and shouted out to them; "You guys are supposed to be here, learning!!" He started moving again, and said with a frustrated face "These guys are just mostly goofying around". But from 'connectedness' point of view, the space and time the boys were enjoying may have had some effect on them.

The surrounding was very pretty with white snow and blue sky through the brown-grey thin willow bush, and I felt excitement of exploration, as we went into deep inside to look for rabbit tracks. Unless careful, we would destroy the path. N was trying to explain to the students that they should not play around and mess the rabbits tracks, but the boys were too busy playing hard under the sun. There were lots of moose tracks, droppings, and a bunch of branches broken by them. The sun, wind

and birds. Looking up, I saw the thin and tall willows swinging by the wind. I took a deep breath, enjoying the crispy and blessing air.

Later, both O and K got scolded in a usual manner. They looked feeling bad, but I am not sure to what extent in reality. Then the two boys stayed near N while D was trying to make a notch on a willow tree, which took him for a long time. N knew that the way D was setting the snare would not work, but he just watched Carl working. Later N told me "Everyone sees how it goes, and sometimes it doesn't work. And you just redo it or change it. You can learn from failure". N was carefully and patiently teaching each student one by one how to set snares, making sure that everyone had a chance to set a snare properly. But again, kids were free and everywhere. They were excited to be there. (Fieldnotes, 22/03/02)

## 4c Hull's observations and feelings about Yup'ik people

Hull's understanding of Yup'ik culture is fundamental to their outdoor programmes. Throughout the interviews with Hull, his respect towards the Yup'ik people are made clear. Here is one of many examples of his poetic expression to show his sharp observation, love and a deep relationship with the land and the people.

...But that's it and that's what I see in the Yup'iks that they go with the rhythm of the seasons because the seasons dominate. And they don't put themselves above those and they don't put themselves above anything. And but what they do is, have this capacity to celebrate the nature of each thing and that's why they are truly the human embodiment of what's going on in the planet. And that's why I say as far as...you know being here long enough and looking at things, I remember riding back in a boat with Jason and L last fall and in the cabin we set things up there. And just a neat fall sky, clouds moving fairly quick, I thought how could anyone not imagine that the sky was not alive and a creature with its own will. How could you not imagine that. And again, being out with the kids, camping out, and pretty cold and we were ice fishing and there were nice big drifts of real solid, so the kids were running up and sliding down those things. Jackets were coming off, they were just about T-shirts, it was about 10 degrees [F] and sunny. And that's it, if you sat there in the middle of winter you would realise that it's never going to change. 'Cause it's grabbed the land so hard it's forever. And not with the Yup'iks around. They will tease it with their laughter till it's gone and that's it. Spring comes because Yup'iks come out and play and march. You know, it's there, it's the only thing in which to build a mythology in what you see around you, yeah, I mean the world turns because the Yup'iks keep on spinning. (M. Hull, 12 March 2002)

## 4d Students' products on the web as a result of the outdoor classes

Outdoor education classes were combined with other subjects such as writing, researching and information technology literacy. The following is an example of a webpage which was produced by a 7th grader.

Rachael Evan
MS L. Arts
Jan. 30 2002
Trapping Beaver

# Trapping With Mr. Max

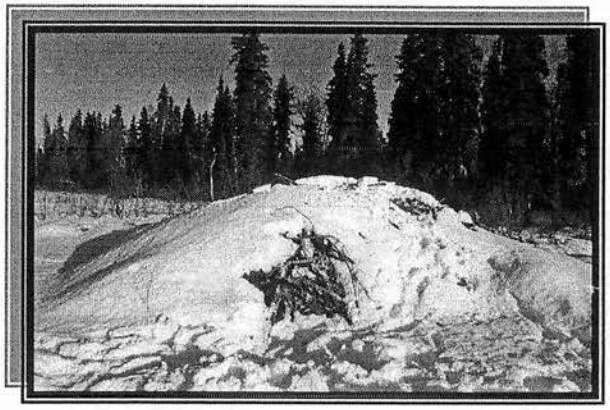
The day after I came back to Russian Mission, I went beaver trapping. Carl, Margie, Vassily, Kenny, Jimmy, Joshua, Basil, Daniel and I went with Max to set beaver snares. After lunch we got ready, jumped in the school sled, and went 2 miles out across the river. We stopped next to a beaver house. Then we jumped off the sled. Mr. Max and us students took turns picking off the ice that covered the hole.

Me, Smiling

Margie and I were talking about the smelly water.

When we reached the water it started to smell real bad - like the lagoon. Margie and I were lazy to shovel the ice out of the water. Basil was taking some pictures while Mr. Max was showing us how to set the snares. The first 2 beaver snares never caught any beavers. So we got back to the machine and went to check

the other beaver snares. At the second beaver house, Carl and Vass shoveled and picked off the ice. Jimmy pulled up his snare and a dead, medium beaver came out of the icy water. Basil took pictures of him and his beaver. Then Max told Basil to let the kids go on the beaver house and take some pictures. After the picture, Mr. Max showed us how to put the snare in the water the right way. We made sure the wire was facing to the lodge, then put it in the water, and pulled it up to see if it was facing the beaver house. After we did that, we covered the hole with some snow.



A Beaver House.

Then it was time to check Margie and Charitina's beaver snares. Margie, Jimmy, and I had to shovel the ice while Basil helped to ice pick off the ice. Molly's snare caught a little beaver, but the beaver's fur was stuck in the ice. After we got the beaver out Max and some

Above:Max showing me how to set a snare.

Left: Vassily Takumjenak smiling for the camera.

other people covered the hole.

It was time to go home, and we got on the snowmachine. The two beavers had to go inside the sled with the other kids. Man, it was very cold coming back from the other side of the river! We reached the town in about 6 minutes. When we reached the school, all of us went inside the school and warmed up for awhile. Max told Vassily and Jimmy to bring the beavers in the school's kitchen. After I warmed up I went home.

Max showing us how to skin a beaver.

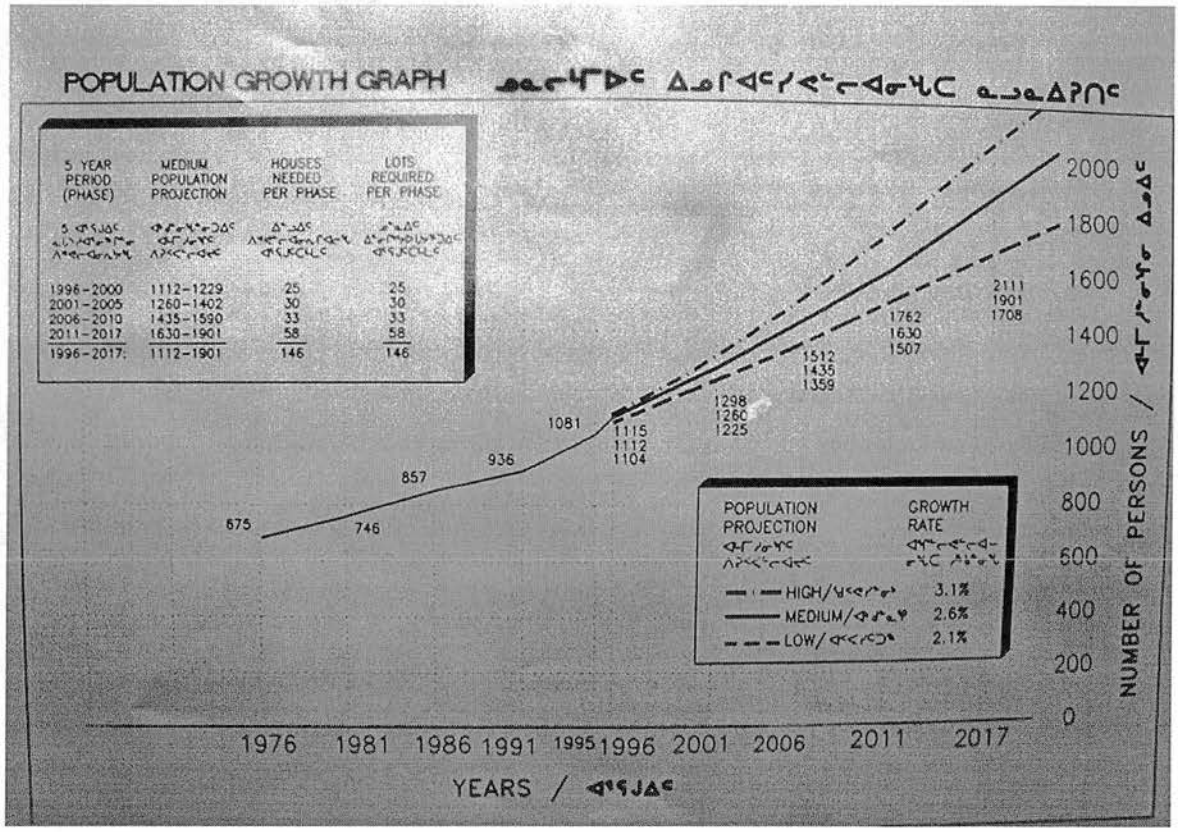
During all the activies we did, I learned how to set a beaver snare the right way that Max showed me. The next day he taught us kids how to skin the beaver and cut the stomach up to take out the smelly guts.

# Appendix 5: Land-skills Courses of Inullariit Society

## 5a Population growth in Igloolik

The graph below shows an actual and projected population in Igloolik from 1976 to 2017. The rapid population increase indicates better survival rates and longer life expectancy compared to the period before people settled in Igloolik. The reasons can perhaps be attributed to improved health services, social services, housing programmes (J. MacDonald, personal communication 13 April 2004), a lifestyle change, and so on.

Figure 10.1 An actual and projected Igloolik population between1976-2017




Source: Igloolik Community Plan and Zoning By-law (1998) prepared by the Government of the Northwest Territories, Department of Municipal and Community Affairs, Community Planning and Lands Division. Provided by Igloolik Research Centre

## 5b Examples from the Oral History Project

A number of files of the Oral History Project of Igloolik Research Centre indicate the interruption of knowledge transmission due to schooling. The following are some examples.

> NP: That is why it is so important that people listen to the words of the elders. Especially for those who lack experience surviving the weather. When young people are kept in school it is not possible for them to spend more time outdoor, which is different from the way we grew up when we could go along on hunting trips, it is so much harder for them to be out in the cold weather...
>
> MK: It is now harder for people to know the land marks and where the bearing is from their home. In the past we were started off going along on hunting trips we too did not know the land marks and its bearing with home. But later on we started to get our bearings with the land mark. At the time when this school opened the young people are spending less out in the open so they are not well familiarized by their surroundings. As a matter of fact we have reached the height of the adults, we still do not know some of the place names. Each of the land marks have place names and the only reason why they have names are for them to be identified with. (Piugaattuk & Kupaaq, 1987)
>
> I don't think that it should not be taken out of the law. School children spent the whole day away from their parents and even when they are at home they are told to do something but they refuse and that is how it is today. In the past before they had schools the only time children spent away from home was when they were out hunting. They were

more eager to do things and they were better at doing something in those days. After the introduction of schools children spent the whole time at school and when they are at home they are told to do something but they seem less able to do things. (Kopaq, 1987)

We place our children between the school and the parents who have different ways of doing things. No wonder we get them confused and this makes it even harder to teach them our custom. Should we teach them according to our custom they will find it very difficult. (Aqiaruq, 1993)

## 5c Fieldnotes on the first morning on trail during Paariaqtuqtut

The following describes the first morning on trail during the course of the Inullariit Society.

Friday, 3 May 2002 Fine -10℃

I got up around 7.30am, being anxious to know how a day would start. In a journey that I am used to, we get up, eat something rather quickly and pack to go as soon as we can. But no one here seemed to be in a hurry at all. M and G (my two tent mates) were in bed till 10.30am, until Q came in and finally woke them up. Q came around 8am, checked our double burner stove and filled its fuel outside and started a fire as if he had done it for thousands of times. We talked for a while. Then I ate a pilot biscuit with jam and peanut butter while the other two were still sleeping. I wondered around outside. Visited Moe's tent. The first sight of inside reminded me of the film 'Atanarjuat'. Everyone lined up on a raised sleeping floor with caribou hides, naked or just with T-shirts. Everyone's head was towards the entrance. The entrance floor was an open space for cooking and storage, as well as for visitors. Nine-year old K rose up with smile, having a necklace of a wooden cross with a black leather string. A portable two-column kerosene stove heated their tent. While I was visiting for a short while, many people zipped in and out. In the meantime Moe had been outside all the time, checking machines and doing other work. B was sewing inside the tent, expanding the boy's trousers' cuffs. 12.30pm departure. Those who got ready just started. Uttak was talking with Moe right before his departure – is this how decision is delivered? On trail, re-arranging the packing, machine maintenance, how to read the route, etc. – there are a lot of things to pass on from the experienced Inuit to the young ones. To be with elders, to journey together, to live with them itself is a succession of learning. (Fieldnotes, 03/05/02)

## 5d Fieldnotes on ice fishing trip and learning

The following describes an ice fishing trip in Nagvaak to illustrate what is involved in their 'course activity'.

Wednesday, 8 May 2002 Snowing
Ivalu and Paniaq, brother instructors, were going to the south of the lake, looking for bigger fish. 'Going fishing' involved the whole family. They got ready for the small house on the sled and a box on the sled with full of tea, stove, warm clothing, etc. Four participants joined in. In addition, Ivalu's wife, the nine-month old baby, two 6 or 7 year-olds (one was another participant's son and another was Ivalu's grandson), and one more 19-year-old Ivalu's grandson. It was whiteout and difficult to drive as ups and downs on the surface of the frozen lake were indistinguishable. They chose a place to open a hole on the ice. Instead of a powered ice drill, they used an iron stick with pointed end (but the end got bent after a while and not much use after that) and another iron stick with flat sharp end as well as a hand-made ice scoop made out of an aluminium empty camping gas container. Two to four men took turn to continue digging a hole on the ice for nearly two hours, sweating. They dug a two-meter-deep ice hole with diameter of 30cm or so. The long iron sticks were entirely within the hole toward the end of the endeavour. They fished from 1.30pm to 5.30pm using four holes, but no one was successful. They had tea and returned to the camp site. I was driving a snow machine with one participant on the backseat. I realised his good sense of direction even in the whiteout condition, reading wind. He corrected the direction I was heading and guided me towards the camp site. Shortly after we returned to the camp, KL, one of the participants came back with five caribou. KU, another participant who was raised in an outpost camp until he became 15 years old, skinned them very quickly. Ivalu's 19-year-old grandson also started skinning but he needed much guidance and assistance from Paniaq and Ivalu. Ivalu showed him how and let the grandson do it while he was watching. When legs were cut off, elders immediately started to work on it on their own by cleaning and breaking them to eat marrow inside. (Fieldnotes, 08/05/02)